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Earth-Goddess, Bronze, Bangkok Museum.

I.H.Q., March, 1943

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The Earth Goddess in Buddhist Art

In the great drama of the Great Enlightenment (*mahāsambodhi*) in the Life of the Buddha—the Contest with and Victory over Māra (Māra dharṣaṇa, Māra-Vijaya, cp. the epithet "Mārābhibhu") is a major incident in the story. Though the contest with Māra is alluded to in the early texts (*Dīgha-nikāya*, ii, 261; iii, 260), we do not come across any details and particulars of the Assault of Māra and his defeats until we come to the Pāli commentaries and the later texts, which seem to suggest that although legends relating to the details of the contest may have grown up quite early, in the shape of poetical embellishments, the actual mythological development, with significant iconographic details, belongs to later times.[1] The account given in the *Mahāvastu* (ii, 281, here cited in Thomas' abridged version) is earlier than the version of the Pāli commentaries and of the *Lalita-vistara*, and is probably derived from earlier sources: "Then the Bodhisattva...........removed from his robe his golden arms with netted hands and copper-hued nails...........and with his right hand smote the earth.[2] Then the great earth roared and sounded forth a deep and terrible sound, Māra's army so mighty, so well arranged, alarmed, terrified, agitated, distracted and horrified, dispersed and melted away." This text notwithstanding its tiring verbosity does not offer any new embellishment or details of the incident. The commotion of the Earth is referred to in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, iii, 13-19) where it is stated that the Earth shakes, trembles and agitates (*paṭhavi kampati, samkampati, sampakampati, sampavedhati*) on the advent of various significant incidents in

1 See B. C. Law's paper: 'Buddhist Conception of Māra' in *Buddhistic Studies*, Ch. X.

2 The corresponding passage in the *Lalita-vistara* (Lefmann, 318) runs as follows: "*dakṣiṇena pāṇinā sarva-kāyaṃ parimārjya salīlaṃ medinīṃ parāhanti sma.*"

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the Birth and Life of the Buddha e.g. the Conception, the Birth, the Enlightenment etc. The *Mahāvastu* account is perhaps the earliest authority for the "Earth-touching gesture" (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*) plastically rendered in the iconography of the image, of which the earliest sculptural rendering occurs in the images of the Amarāvatî and the Gāndhāra School. Yet the legend of the Earth being called to witness, though implied, is not explicitly indicated in the *Mahāvastu* version. In the Pāli commentaries the incident is developed (it is impossible to say if this is an independent development, or a loan from earlier floating legends) in the form of a spirited dialogue between the Bodhisattva and Māra: "Verily I fear not, Māra." "Why dost thou not fear?" "Through having performed the perfections of the merits of alms-giving and others." "Who knowest that thou hast given alms?" "Is there need of a witness here, evil one? When in one birth I became Vessantara and gave alms, through the power thereof this great earth quaked seven times in six ways, and gave witness. Thereupon the great earth as far as the ocean quaked, uttering a terrible sound." "And Māra terrified at hearing it like a dropped stone lowered his flag, and fled with his host." In the *Nidānakathā* there is a slightly developed version: "And withdrawing his right-hand from beneath his robe, he stretched it forth towards the "earth," and said: "Art thou, or art thou not witness of the seven hundred-fold great gift I gave in my birth as Vessantara?" And the great Earth uttered a voice, saying: "I am witness to thee of that!" overwhelming as it were the hosts of Māra as with the shout of hundreds of thousands of foes." (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, Broadway Translations, pp. 195-196). The significant development in this version is in the fact that while in the two earlier texts the earth testifies by a 'trembling', here, the Earth speaks out in a voice. In the next version (that of the *Lalitavistara*) the voice assumes a visible form: "The Great Earth as soon as touched by the Bodhisattva, shook and trembled (in six forms of agitation). Like unto the brass vessels used by the citizens of Magadha, when struck by a piece of wood, the Great Earth, when struck by the hand of the Bodhisattva, rang out in a metallic twang which vibrated and resounded. And then the Spirit of the Great Earth known as the Immovable (*Sthāvarā nāma mahā-prithivîdevatā*) splitting the ground with tremor, very near the Bodhisattva and showing half the body (*ardha-kāya*) decked with all manner of jewels, and bending the same with joint palms thus addressed the Bodhisattva: "That is so, O! Super-man, that is so.

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Fig. 1 Effigy on pedestal of a Gandhāra Image, No. 777, Lahore Museum.

Fig. 2 Effigy on pedestal of a Stone Image of Bhūmi-sparśa Buddha, No. B(c) 2, Gupta Period, Sarnāth Museum.

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I am eye-witness to what Thou hast uttered.....With these words, Sthāvarā, the Spirit of the Great Earth, after having administered all manner of chastisements to the sinful Māra, and having displayed her glory, disappeared then and there with her cortêge." (Free translation of Lefmann's text of the *Lalita Vistara*, II, pp. 318-319). In this version, the chastisement of the Earth Goddess does not put to flight Māra and his army. He does not give up his attack but changes his tactics and sends his two daughters to tempt the Bodhisattva. An effigy of the Goddess, seen up to the waist, and emerging out of lotus petals—appear to be represented on one of the fragments of the Gāndhāra School (Lahore Museum, No. 777). (Fig. 1).

In one of the images, in 'earth-touching gesture', of the Gupta period (?) dug up at Sarnāth, on the pedestal, half the figure of the Earth Goddess is depicted as emerging from the surface of the earth carrying a vessel (*kalasa*) of sacred water. In this connection the *Vessantara Jātaka*, and its various plastic illustrations come to our aid. According to the old Vedic practice,[3] every gift has to be ratified and consecrated by the rite of sprinkling of holy water (*abhiṣeka*). In the Bharhut relief illustrating the gift of the Jetavana grove by Anāthapiṇḍika and in Gāndhāra reliefs illustrating the *Vessantara Jātaka*, King Vessantara carries a water-vessel (*bhṛṅgāra*) from which he pours the lustral water in ratifying the gift of the Elephant—which is followed by other gifts of all his possessions including his children and wife. It is the accumulated merit of the great gifts, the great sacrifices of the Buddha (or, in the words of Māra's elephant Giri-mekhalā, "the uttermost gift given by thee, Siddhārtha") collected in the bosom of the Earth in the shape of the waters of the donative rituals, poured from the ritual vessel (*abhiṣeka-kumbha*). And it is this piece of concrete evidence that the Earth-Goddess carries up in a vessel as represented in a tiny figure on the pedestal of more than one relief, at Sarnāth, one of which is cited, here, in Fig. 2.

In a later development of this legend we are treated to a more poetic version. According to this developed and more imaginative version, the waters from the ritual vessel consecrating the various gifts of the Buddha in his former life percolated through the soil, and drenched and soaked the heavy tresses of the long hair of the Earth Goddess (*Vasundharā*). And

3 "In Ancient India there existed the custom of the donors pouring water upon the ground when they made donations of lands or endowed temples and the like (*Salila-dhārā-pūrvakaṃ*)" (S. C. Mitra: 'On an Ancient Indian Custom', *Hindusthan Review*, April, 1918, p. 332).

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when summoned by the Bodhisattva to testify to his donative merits, accumulated through the ages, the Goddess, who was carrying the ritual waters (*dakkhiṇodaka*) hidden in her hair, wrung her long tresses with her hand, and streams of water, like unto the Ganges, flowed out of her hair in mighty torrents and swept away Māra and his formidable army. This is the version which has been unearthed by that astute scholar Dr. Coedès, from a late Pāli text known as *Paṭhamasaṃbodhi*, very well-known in Mss. current in Siam and Cambodia. I quote the relevant passage "Bho Avanitala! mayhaṃ samatiṃsa pāramiyo pūrentassa Vessantarattabhāve ṭhatvā puttadāra-pariccāgaṃ katvā satta-satakamahādānaṃ datvā samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā sakkhikatā n'atthi. Bho Avanitala! idāni kasmā na sakkhîti. Tadā Vasundharā-vanitā Bodhisattassa sambhārānubhāvena attānam sandhāretuṃ asakkontî Paṭhavîtalato uṭṭhahitvā itthisāmaññatāya Bodhisattassa pūrato ṭhatvā: "Tāta Mahāpurisa! ahaṃ tava sambhāraṃ jānāmi, tava dakkhiṇodakena mama kesā alliyanti, idāni parivattayissāmî"—ti vadantā viya tāvad eva attano kese parivattitvā visajjesi. Tassā kesato udakaṃ patitaṃ yathā Gaṅgodakasotaṃ pavattati.....Atha te Mārasenā..... palāyiṃsu. Girimekhalapādā pana pakkhalitvā yāva sāgarantam pavisanti."

Rendered in a free translation, the passage reads as follows:

"O! Earth! I have achieved the thirty Perfections and in my existence as Vessantara, I made the sacrifice of my wife and of my children and I have distributed gifts by several hundreds at a time but I have no monk nor Brāhmaṇa to bear testimony (to my assertion). O! Earth, why are you not (coming forth) as my witness now? Then Lady Vasundharā, being unable to hold herself by the sense of appreciation of the weight of spiritual treasures of the Bodhisattva, came forth from beneath the Earth, and assuming the common form of women placed herself in front of the Bodhisattva, said: 'Respected Super-Man! I know of the magnitude of thy (spiritual) riches, the tresses of my hair are saturated with the ritual-water of your gifts, let me wring out the water now'. With these words she immediately began to wring her tresses of hair and discharge the water. From her hair water oozed out like the flow of the water of the river Ganges. ... ... At this, the army of Māra being unable to keep its footing, fled away. The feet of elephant Giri-mekhalā slipped and it was washed away into the sea."[4] This developed version of the story with

4 H. Alabaster (*The Wheel of the Law*, London, 1871, pp. 154-155) who

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picturesque embellishments has not been traced in any text earlier than the *Paṭhamasaṃbodhi,* which cannot be precisely dated. The earliest plastic representation of this version has been traced by Dr. Coedès in a sculptured stèle from Ankor Vat, datable about the 11th century. On this relief (Fig. 5) which represents the Assault of Māra, the image of the Earth-Goddess is indicated (unlike the situation on Gupta reliefs) on the left side of the seated Buddha, standing on a lotus and holding the tresses of hair in her hands. Māra on his elephant Giri-mekhalā is shown in two positions, one at the beginning of the assault on the left corner, and second time on the right side—at the moment when the feet of the elephant squids in the inundation as suggested by the text cited by Coedès. This version of the legend must, therefore, be earlier than the 11th century, and has to be distinguished, in fundamental details, from earlier version of the legend followed in the relief of the Gupta School (6th to 7th century) cited from Sarnāth. The fundamental innovation is the elimination of the jar, containing the donative water of lustration (*dakkhiṇodaka*), and the replacing of it by tresses saturated with them. This version has no parallel in any Buddhist reliefs hitherto discovered in India. Though no lithic representation has been forthcoming, Coedès believed that the version probably developed on Indian soil. In some of the Tibetan illustrations of the story, as for instance, on a Tibetan banner (Bacot Collection, Musée Guimet, Paris) here cited in a drawing (Fig. 4), the Earth-Goddess at the centre, carries no jar. Curiously, though no Indian illustration of the version has been found in India, illustrations have been traced in Burma, Cambodia and Siam. Another curious development of the form of the Earth-Goddess in Greater India consists in the fact that while in India, in the examples so far

gives an English version of 'a life of the Buddha', derived from Siamese sources, has rendered the story in the following words:

"And the angel of the earth, unable to resist his invocation, sprang from the earth in the shape of a lovely woman with long flowing hair, and standing before him answered: O Being more excellent than angels or men! It is true that when you performed your great works you ever poured water on my hair. And with these words she wrung her long hair, and a stream, a flood of waters gushed forth from it. Onward against the host of Māra the mighty torrent rushed. His generals were over-turned, his elephant swept away by the waters, his royal insignia destroyed, and his whole army fled in utter confusion, amid the roarings of a terrific earthquake, and peals of thunder crashing through the skies." If Alabaster's version is an accurate translation, then the Siamese text used by him must have been a different text.

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traced,—it occurs as a subordinate figure, introduced in the scenes depicting the Assault of Māra, as *one* of the *dramatis personae* in the story,—in Burma and Siam, the figure is represented independently, as we shall presently see.

In Burma, the figure of the Earth-Goddess known under the name of Vasundharā (vulgarized in Burma as 'Wasundhāye') occurs in almost all the pagodas, represented in the form of a gracious lady, either seated or standing, with the tresses of her hair brought over her left shoulder, across her bust, and represented in the act of squeezing out water from her hair. A majority of the examples, at least, belongs to fairly early times. A fragment of a sculpture in stone representing Vasundharā has been found at Wethali (Vesali) in Arakan in 1920, which (according to the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma), "may be safely assigned to the 9th or 10th century." Another, example in wood (now in the Pagan Museum) has been dug up from a ruined temple near Pagan and have been assigned to the 14th or 15th century (Fig. 7). It is markedly Chinese in style, and it has been suggested that it may have come from China. If this suggested *provenance* is correct—the version of the legend must have been also current in Chinese Buddhism. There is some doubt in orthodox Buddhist circles in Burma if the Earth-Divinity is a male or female. In all known examples it is a goddess, and should be so, as she must have long tresses of hair from which she has to squeeze out water. The doubt may have been suggested by the word "mahāpṛthivî-devatā" in the *Lalitavistara*, but other words in the same text leave no doubt that it is a goddess. The only other Burmese example which remains to be cited is the representation of the goddess in a very late fresco on the walls of the Arakan Pagoda at Mandalay.

The most important example from Cambodia has been cited above. The only other example so far known occurs on one of the façades of the sanctuary at Vat Nokor near Kompong-Cham (Fournereau, *Ruines Khmerès*, pl. 71). (Fig. 6). But, the finest examples, all of them independent figures, have come from Siam. A fine bronze figure of the Divinity (now in the Bangkok Museum) was cited by Fournereau many years ago and is here reproduced in the Frontispiece. It is a seated form and in its graceful pose undoubtedly represents one of the finest example of Siamese sculpture, unhappily not noticed by May in his excellent monograph. An equally fine example in standing pose has been cited by Salmony in his

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rig. 3 Effigy on pedestal on a Stone Image of the Buddha, Pāla School, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Fig. 4 Portion of a Tibetan Tangka, Musée Guimet, Paris.

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Fig. 5
Stone Relief from Angkor-Vat, *c.* 11th century.

Fig. 6
Relief from the façade of a Buddhist Temple, Vat Noker, near Kompong Cham.

Fig. 7
Seated Earth-Goddess, Bangkok Museum, Siam.

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study of *Sculpture in Siam* from which it is borrowed here (Fig. 8). Two other representations in stone reliefs (said to have come from Ayuthia) have been cited by Salmony (Plate 69, A & B) which appear to be related to the images of Vasundharā. They are differently posed, one wringing her hair by stretching the left arm while the other twists her hair across her right arm. The first one is depicted in a dynamic movement almost imitating the poses of flying Apsaras, while the other one is represented in a seated pose. They appear to have been decorative slabs on the façade of some temple. In the absence of particulars of their provenance it is impossible to speculate about their function. At any rate, in the pose of twisting their hair these figures (Salmony, Pl. 69) are closely related to the images of Vasundharā, if they do not actually represent the Earth-Goddess. A painted pottery relief from Svargaloka, (Siam) cited by Coedès (Pl. XI, *Ars Asiatica*, vol. XII) may be a representative of the Goddess and recalls, in its floral base from which the adorning figure emerges, a similar motif in the Gāndhāra piece cited above (Fig. 1). The representation of the Earth-Goddess in independent figures met with in Siam and Burma, unrelated to the story of Māra's Assault, calls for an explanation. For, in the Indian representations, the goddess is never represented as an independent icon. It is very significant that in Siam this Angel of the Earth (Vasundharā) has a Siamese popular name "Pra Torani" (Torani = *dharaṇi*, earth) and she is a very popular goddess worshipped as the great mother of all mankind (Thomson, *Lotus Land*, p. 93). And the use of the image as an independent icon may be explained by the fact that Vasundharā is generally placed in Ordination Halls, in Siam as well as in Burma, and performs the function of a witness to any donation of gifts or offering, or to any other acts of merits on the part of a lay-worshipper. This function appears to have given to the Earth Goddess an independent status in Burmese and Siamese Buddhism calling for a separate icon of the goddess unrelated to the story of Māra's Assault. In these independent representations she is the ever-present divinity of the Earth an eye-witness to all the acts of merits or demerits of all human beings.

This is borne out by the Formula of Dedication in Pāli still used in Burma by donors in consecrating any gift, the Earth-Goddess Vasundharā being invoked by them as a witness to the meritorious act. That this Formula is modelled on the legend of Vasundharā and the ancient practice of pouring 'libation water' (*dakkhiṇodakaṃ*) in Formula (*Kamma vācā*) here given in translation, the text being quoted in the foot note:

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"Reverend Sir: We pin our faith in the doctrine of Karma and its fruition. We take upon ourselves the observance of the five precepts. Having done so we also give in charity all these charitable commodities to you, venerable sirs, by the pouring of libation water.

May we, venerable sir, by virtue of this good deed quickly attain nirvāṇa where rebirth, old age, disease and death are unknown. As long as we have not attained nirvāṇa so long and for that period of time, in the course of our repeated rebirths, may we experience and enjoy the bliss of the best form of human and heavenly happiness better than the happiness enjoyed by others.

Reverend Sir! We share this merit of ours with our parents of excellent virtue, with our teachers, with all our kinsmen and friends etc., with our kings and deities.

May the aforesaid living beings get equal share of merit with us and may they rejoice over our act of merit.

Should we forget about our this act of merit, may the Earth-god or goddess Vasundharā stand as our witness".[5]

The group of representations of the Buddhist Earth-Goddess cited, here, offer a very interesting phase of myth-making in Buddhist religion and help us to realize how the tiny effigy on the seats of the images of a type of the Buddha of the Gupta period develops into an independent icon with almost a cult of its own. Incidentally, the developed legend offers to the artists of Siam an opportunity to present the Earth-Goddess in remarkably conceived sculptural forms of exquisite movement and grace. Though the earliest representations of the goddess appear to have been formulated in

5 "Mayaṃ bhante kammañca kammaphalañca saddhahitvā tisaraṇena sahā pañcasīlaṃ samādiyāma. Samādiyitvā imāni nānā dātabbavatthūni āyasmantānaṃ dakkhiṇodakaṃ pātetvā dema.

Mayaṃ bhante iminā puñña-kammena ajātiṃ ajaraṃ avyādhim amataṃ nibbānaṃ sighaṃ pāpuṇissāma. Yāva nibbānaṃ na pāpuṇissāma tāva saṃsāre saṃsarantā atiukkaṭṭhaṃ parchi adhikataraṃ manussasaṃpattiṃ ca dibbasaṃpattiṃ ca anubhaveyyāma.

Mayaṃ bhante idaṃ puññabhāgaṃ guṇavisiṭṭhatarānaṃ mātāpitūnnañca ācariyanañ ca ñātimittasamūhādînaṃ ca rājūnañca devānañ ca dema yathā vuttā sabbasattā amhehi samaṃ puññabhāgaṃ labhitvā anumodantu. Amhesu pamattesu pi ayaṃ Vasundharā amhākaṃ sakkhiṭṭhāne tiṭṭhatu."

[The writer is indebted, for the above citation, to the kind courtesy of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma Circle].

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Fig. 8 Standing Earth-Goddess, Bangkok, Siam.

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Cambodia,—the Siamese sculptors render the icon in an original and a characteristically local style of their own.

Since the above was set in type several new data have cropped up which, while they complicate the problem of the iconography of Pṛthvî Devî, and its evolutional forms, help to study the forms of this goddess from the Hindu Brahmanical point of view.

Several representations of the goddess have been recently traced on some mediaeval Hindu monuments of the South, of which the earliest example is the one on a pillar of the maṇḍapa in front of the Bṛhan-nāyiki shrine, at the Bṛhadîśvara temple (an early eleventh century Cola temple) at Tanjore. It is impossible to say if this is the earliest representation of the goddess on a Brahmanical monument, as we have not been able to trace any earlier example. (Photo No. 1498 of 1936-37, Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy). Of later examples, the most significant are those appearing as bas-reliefs on some Vijayanagara monuments. One occurs on a pillar in the Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa of the Viṭṭhala-swāmin temple at Hampi, Bellary (Photo No. 1456 of 1936-37, *Ibid*). Another occurs on a pillar in a subsidiary maṇḍapa at the Acyutarāya temple at Hampi (Photo No. 1385 for 1935-36, *Ibid*). Yet another occurs on the basement of the Gopura of the Hazara Rāma temple at Hampi (Photo No. 1388 for 1935-36, *Ibid*) As will appear from the drawings (Figs. 9, 10 & 11) cited, here, from these examples, all of them represent a female figure wringing out her hair, very much in the fashion of the figure as it occurs in Burmese Art. In the earlier Buddhist representation on the Gupta Images in the Sarnāth Museum, the goddess is not represented in the act of wringing out her hair. Otherwise, it would have been easier to claim that the Brahmanical sculptors of the Cola and Vijayanagara temples, cited above, must have derived the iconology of the Earth Goddess, depicted by them, from Buddhist models. None of the Siamese and Buddhist examples appears to be as early as the 10th or 11th century, and, possibly, could not have provided precedents for the Brahmanical reliefs referred to above. The Earth Goddess has an independent tradition in Hindu Brahmanical pantheon. Bhūmi Devî or Bhauma Devî, the Earth-Spirit of Vedic times, receives offerings according to the prescriptions of the Gṛhya Sūtras.[6] In early Vedic conception the

6 *Gobbila Gṛhya Sūtra* iii, 7. 3; *Āśvyalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, ii, 1. 15; *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, iv. 15; *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*, ii. 14. 9; *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra*, xviii, 5; xix, 22.

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goddess Pṛthivî is closely associated with Dyaus (the Heaven spirit) and is invoked jointly with Dyaus. In the *Ṛgveda* (V. 84) she has but one short hymn of her own, while a long and interesting hymn is ascribed to her in the *Atharvaveda* (xii. 1). "She is great, shining and firm, and quickens the earth, by *scattering rain from a cloud*", in which act she appears to borrow an attribute of Dyaus himself. As a matter of fact, Parjanya (son of Dyaus) the Spirit of the rain-cloud quickens the earth with rain, and the Pṛthvî Devî as the wife of Parjanya absorbs all the showers of rain that descend on her. From the Vedic point of view, it may be suggested that the Earth Goddess will carry in her tresses all the water that descend from the Rain-clouds, and she could easily wring out any amount of water from her flowing tresses. In a physical sense, any amount of water could be dug out of the earth (the tresses of the goddess), and, the Earth is the perennial source of water for wells, tanks, or reservoirs.

The imagery of the Earth and her tresses of hair saturated with water can thus be independently derived from the Vedic sources without reference to the Buddhistic tradition—which itself may have borrowed the imagery from the original Vedic source.

In later Puranic conception Bhūmā Devî (the Vedic Earth-spirit) is one of the consorts of Viṣṇu. And in South Indian metal images, Viṣṇu is frequently represented as standing in the centre with Lakṣmī Devî on one side, and Bhūmā Devî, on the other. Krishna Sastri (*South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, 1916, Madras, Fig. 33, p. 53) cites the drawing of Vaikuṇṭha-nārāyaṇa, with a female figure depicted on the serpent couch, which may represent a donor, but which one is tempted to identify as Bhūmā Devî (Pṛthvî Devi) as it is represented very much in the same manner as the effigy of the Earth Goddess on the pedestal of some of the Gupta Buddhas at Sarnāth cited above.

But could we trace the iconography of the Buddhist formulation of the Earth-Goddess to Vedic sources? As Dr. Coomaraswamy has pointed out the nearest and probably the direct equivalent is Vasu-patnī (*ṚV.* I, 164, 27.) The *Ṛgveda* offers a few hymns to the Earth, but as yet offers no definite material for visual conception. The *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā* (Book XII) devotes a string of 63 hymns, addressed to the Earth and describes her many virtues and characteristics. Four of these hymns are relevant for our purpose—as they emphasize on the Goddess raining down her bounties, and 'sprinkling us with her splendour.' Some of these hymns use the figures

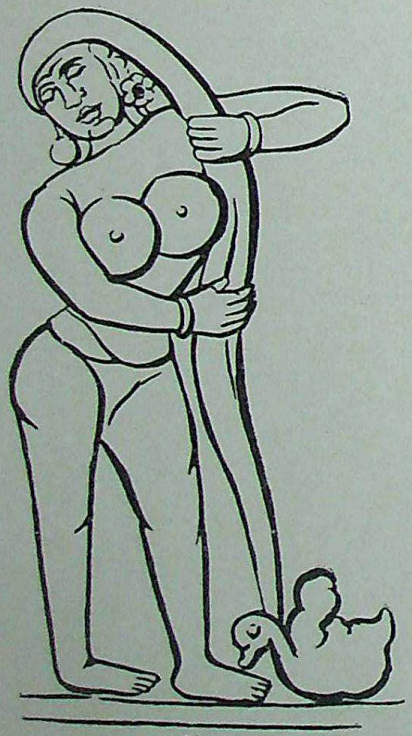

Fig. 9
Gopuram, Acyutarāya Temple,
Hampi.

Fig. 10
Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa,
Vitthala-Swâmin Temple,
Hampi.

Fig. 11
Gopuram, Hāzra Rāma Temple,
Hampi.

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of speech of raining down "milk" or "streams" of prosperity. One hymn (XII, 52) describes the "broad Earth as wrapped and covered with rain"—suggesting perhaps the imagery of the Goddess having her tresses soaked with water. The relevant hymns are cited below in Whitney's translation (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. II, 1905, pp. 662, 668, 670, 671).

"7. She the earth (*Bhūmi pṛthvî*), whom the Angels sleepless, defend all the time without failure—let her yield (*duh*) to us honey, what is dear; then let her sprinkle us with splendour."

"9. On whom the circulating waters flow the same night and day, without failure—let that earth (*bhūmi*) of many streams (*dhārā*) yield us milk; then let her sprinkle (us) with splendour."

"10. * * * Let that earth (*bhūmi*) to us, a mother to a son, pour out (*vi-srij*) milk (to me)."

"42. * * * To the Earth, whose spouse is Parjanya, fattened (soaked) by the rain, be homage."

"45. Let the Earth * * * yield me a thousand streams of property, like a steady un-resisting milch-cow."

"36. * * * let thine arranged seasons, years, let day-and-night, O Earth, yield milk to us."

"4. Ye who bears the streams (*srotaya*) IV. 26, 4."

Though the Vedic texts do not provide directly ready-made materials for an iconic conception—for the Earth Goddess in the Buddhist formulation—in the image of a woman wringing out water from her hair,—there are enough seed-ideals in the figures of speech used in the texts quoted above, which may have offered materials for the later iconography.

O. C. Gangoly

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Kalaikuri Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 120 (=A.D. 439)

As early as the year 1935, Mr. Rajanimohan Sanyal of Naogong in the Rajshahi Dist. purchased an inscribed copper-plate from a Muhammadan householder originally belonging to the village of Kalaikuri in the Bogra Dist. The village lies about 8 miles from the Naogong town. The plate was immediately sent by the purchaser for decipherment and publication to the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi. Unfortunately, however, the authorities of the Society have so far failed to secure the help of an epigraphist for editing and publishing the record. It was in last March that a messenger of Mr. Sanyal saw me with two sets of estampages of the Kalaikuri inscription and requested me on behalf of the owner to decipher and publish the text at my earliest convenience. I have to thank Mr. Sanyal for giving me an opportunity of editing this important record.

The Kalaikuri copper-plate is a single plate about 9½″ × 5½″ in size. It is inscribed on both sides. There are 34 lines of writing of which 16 lines are inscribed on the obverse and 18 on the reverse. The lines in the central part of the plate facing the projection on the left which contained the seal now lost have about 35 *akṣaras* each, but those above and below contain about 42 *akṣaras* each. The projection for the seal, as suggested by traces on the estampages, seems to be about 3″ in diameter. It is reported that the copper plate was preserved for a long time as heir-loom in a Muhammadan family of Kalaikuri. But it is not impossible to suspect that it is the lost copper-plate originally discovered in connection with the excavation of a tank at Baigram.[1] One of the daylabourers of the Kalaikuri region engaged at Baigram may have brought it to his native village and this may have ultimately led to the discovery of the plate from Kalaikuri.

The DATE of the Kalaikuri inscription is the first (?) day of Vaiśākha of the year 120 apparently belonging to the Gupta era and corresponding to A.D. 439. The record does not mention the name of the king ruling about the time of its issue. But it will be seen that the date falls within the reign-period of the Gupta emperor Kumāra Gupta I (414-55 A.D.).

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In point of PALÆOGRAPHY, the inscription resembles other epigraphs of the fifth and sixth centuries belonging to the Bogra-Rajshahi-Dinajpur region, such as the Baigram,[2] Paharpur[3] and Dāmodarpur[4] inscriptions, as also the Nandapur inscription.[5] The *akṣaras* are engraved by bold strokes and are clear and fine. There are some sections, especially in the right hand side of the plate, in which the letters are more or less indistinct owing to corrosion. Of initial vowels, *a, ā, i, ī, u* and *e* occur in the record. The consonant *ṭ*, without vowel, in the word *ṣaṭ* (l. 24; cf. *t* in *vaset*) is the usual *ṭa* joined with the preceding *ṣa* by a slightly slanting stroke. Medial *ā* is attached to the right lower part of such consonants as *kh, g, th, ś*, etc. The *akṣara mo* resembles *ṇa*, and it may be pointed out that this form of *mo* has often been wrongly read as *ṇa* by scholars (cf., e.g., l. 11 of the Damodarpur inscription of G.E. 124).[5a] Of numerical figures we have 1, 2, 5 (engraved on an erasure), 20 and 100 in the present record.

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The LANGUAGE of the Kalaikuri epigraph is Sanskrit throughout, and, with the exception of five imprecatory verses about the end, it is written in prose. In respect of STYLE and ORTHOGRAPHY also, this inscription resembles other North Bengal epigraphs of the time. The language is, in many passages, not in accordance with Sanskrit grammar. *Sandhi*, which is optional in Sanskrit prose, is often avoided and its rules are sometimes violated. In °*dibhyo aṣṭā*° (l. 19), the *avagraha* is not used and the *a* is retained, even though the preceding *visarga* is changed to *o*. The word *kulyavāpa* is used both in the masculine (e.g., in l. 21) and in the neuter (e.g., in l. 27). *B* is used in some cases instead of *v*, e.g., in *bo* (l. 2), *kulyabāpa* (*pass.*). Final *m* sometimes remains unchanged before *v* (cf. ll. 26, 30, etc.); but it is changed to *anusvāra* before a vowel in l. 15. *Anusvāra*, followed by *h*, is substituted by *ṅ* (cf. ll. 4, 5, 10, 20). This sort of Prakritism is sometimes noticed also in some of the contemporary records. In the Dāmodarpur inscriptions, e.g., we may notice among other cases the name Cirātadatta = Sanskrit Kirātadatta.[6] Consonants with *r* are often doubled.

2 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 342 ff. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 346 ff.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 283 ff., 324 ff., 328 ff. 5 *EI.*, XXIII, p. 54.

5a This is due mainly to the absence of the *serif* in the consonant; cf. also *me*. This feature is noticed in many cases in connection with some other consonants also.

6 See Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* II, 33 in Sircar, *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. 20. *Kirāta* in the name seems to indicate the Kirātamūrti of Śiva and to suggest that the Kirātārjuna episode was popular in Bengal as early as the fifth century A.D.

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The inscription records the notification issued from a place called PŪRNAKAUŚIKĀ (or, °kośikā) belonging to the ŚṚṄGAVERA *Vīthī*, by the *Āyuktaka* ACYUTADĀSA and the *Adhikaraṇa* of the *Vīthī* to the inhabitants of HASTIŚĪRṢAVIBHĪTAKĪ, GULMAGANDHIKĀ (once called Gulmā° in l. 22), DHĀNYAPĀṬALIKA (called °likagrāma in l. 21) and SAṂGOHĀLI (possibly called °hālikagrāma in l. 20) regarding the grant of nine *Kulyavāpas* of land in the above localities to three learned Brāhmaṇas. It is stated that *Kulika* Bhīma and several other persons of the above *Vīthī* described as *Kāyastha* and *Pustapāla* requested the *Āyuktaka* and a number of other persons, called *Vīthīmahattara* and *Kuṭumbin*, to allow them to purchase the above area of land at two *Dīnāras* per *Kulyavāpa* in accordance with the prevalent custom of the sale of *apratikara* fallow land for the sake of *Akṣayanīvī* to be enjoyed for ever. The intention was to offer the land as an *Akṣayanīvī* to three Brāhmaṇas of PUṆḌRAVARDHANA named DEVABHATTA, AMARADATTA and MAHĀSENADATTA, who were well-versed in the four Vedas and belonged to the Vājasaneya-caraṇa, so that they might perform their *Pañca-mahāyajña* uninterruptedly. After having ascertained through the *Pustapālas* whether land could be sold to them at the above rate and after having received eighteen *Dīnāras* as price of the nine *Kulyavāpas* of land, the authorities granted the petition and the land was sold. Of the nine *Kulyavāpas* of land sold, eight *Kulyavāpas* were situated in Hastiśīrṣavibhītakī, in Dhānyapāṭalikā and in Saṃgohālikagrāma. The remaining one *Kulyavāpa* lay in the north-western quarter of Dhānyapāṭalikagrāma and was bounded by the river Vāṭā and by the borders of Gulmagandhikāgrāma. It is further specified that, of the eight *Kulyavāpas* of land indicated above, two *Droṇavāpas* (= ¼ *Kulyavāpa*) were situated in the western part of Gulmagandhikā to the east of Ādyapatha, and the remaining seven *Kulyavāpas* and six *Droṇavāpas* (= ¾ *Kulyavāpa*) lay in Tāpasapottaka and Dayitāpottaka the *prāveśya* whereof belonged to Hastiśīrṣa and in Citravātaṅgara whose *prāveśya* belonged to Vibhītaka. Apparently, Hastiśīrṣavibhītakī, which included several localities, owed its name to the two persons Hastiśīrṣa[7] and Vibhītaka. Saṃgohāli, possibly also called °hālikagrāma

7 Similar names of localities are even now known in Bengal. The Paharpur inscription has Nāgiraṭṭamaṇḍala possibly named after Mūlanāgiraṭṭa. If the name Hastiśīrṣa implies the elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa, as it seems to do, it is to be suggested that this god was popular in Bengal in the fifth century A.D. The elephant-headed deity may have originally been a non-Aryan god. Scholars like Hopkins

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and used in the plural, may have been a bigger geographical unit to which several villages were attached. The *Āyuktaka* and the *Adhikaraṇa* informed the villagers regarding the grant and entreated present and future administrators of the locality, such as the *Viṣaya-pati, Āyuktaka, Kuṭumbin* (as *Grāmamahattara?*) and *Adhikaraṇika* to protect the grant.

Short explanatory notes on the technical terms used in the record may be attempted here for the convenience of ordinary readers, although we have already interpreted them elsewhere. In the Gupta period, the present Bogra-Rajshahi-Dinajpur region formed parts of the territory called Puṇḍravardhana which was a *bhukti* or province of the Gupta empire. The capital of the province was at the city of Puṇḍravardhana, identified with modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District. The *bhukti* was governed by officers like *uparika* or *uparikamahārāja*, i.e. Viceroy. It was divided into *viṣayas* or districts. The Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* included the Damodarpur region and possibly had its headquarters at the city of Koṭivarṣa identified with modern Bangarh. The price of a *Kulyavāpa* of fallow land to be sold for *Akṣayanīvī* purposes was three *Dīnāras* in the Koṭivarṣa *Viṣaya*. The Baigram region where a *Kulyavāpa* was sold at two *Dīnāras*[8] possibly formed part of a different *viṣaya* whose headquarters were at the city of Pañcanagarī (probably the same as Ptolemy's Pentapolis and modern Pāñcbibi in the Bogra Dist.) which may have also been the name of the *viṣaya*. The *Viṣayapati* (head of the district) was often of the *Kumārāmātya* (executive officer of the status of a *Kumāra*[9] or prince of the blood royal) or *Āyuktaka* (executive officer) class. The *viṣaya* had usually subdivisions called *Vīthī* ruled by officers like the *Āyuktaka*.[9a] The

assign the introduction of the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa about the time of the latest sections of the *Mahābhārata*, that is to say, about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The name *Gaṇeśa* seems to have originally indicated Śiva or Viṣṇu; cf. representation on Huviṣka's coins (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 156 n).

8 *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 325, 342 ff.

9 The Kumāras were usually appointed rulers of territorial units.

9a References to the Vīthī are also found in records other than the Kalaikuri and Paharpur inscriptions. The Nalanda grant of Devapāla (*El.*, XVII, p. 318 ff.) mentions the village Pālāmaka attached to the Kumudasūtra *Vīthī* in the Gayā *Viṣaya*. The Naihāṭi grant of Ballālasena (*Ins. Beng.*, III, p. 71) refers to the Svalpadakṣiṇa *Vīthī* in the Uttara-Rāḍhā *Maṇḍala* (district or subdivision, or part of a subdivision, cf. Paharpur inscription) of the Vardhamāna *bhukti*. The Nandapur inscription (*El.*, XXIII, p. 54) mentions the Nandapur *Vīthī* which has been identi-

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Paharpur inscription recording the order of the *Āyuktakas* from the city of Puṇḍravardhana regarding the sale of land at two *Dināras* per *Kulyavāpa* in the Dakṣiṇāmśaka *Vīthī* in the Paharpur region possibly suggests that another *viṣaya* of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* had its headquarters at Puṇḍravardhana.[10] The word *adhikaraṇa* is used to denote administration and also the board of administration, i.e., the members of the board of administration collectively. We have reference to *Viṣayādhikaraṇa* (District Board), *Vīthyadhikaraṇa* (Subdivisional Board), *Grāmāṣṭakulādhikaraṇa* (Village Board representing 8 or more families), *Adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa* (City Board or Board of the Chief City), etc. The word *adhikaraṇika* indicates the member of a board of administration. The *Vīthī-mahattaras* were the Elders of the subdivision. But we do not know whether the *Mahattaras* and *Adhikaraṇikas* of the district, subdivision or village were elected or appointed. The agriculturist householders including Brāhmaṇas are called *Kuṭumbin* (cf. the expression *svakarṣaṇāvirodhisthāne*). *Pustapāla* was the keeper of the records of administration and accounts. *Kāyastha* is a scribe and *kulika* an artisan. It is interesting to note that the artisan is possibly distinguished from the ordinary agriculturist householder. People sometimes purchased state land to offer it to gods or Brāhmaṇas as an *Aksayanīvī* or perpetual

fied with Nandapur near Surajgarhā in the Monghyr Dist. The Ghurāhāṭi grant of Samācāradeva (*EI.*, XVIII, p. 76) refers to Vārakamaṇḍala (under the rule of a *Viṣayapati*) belonging to Suvarṇa *Vithī* (under the rule of an *Antaraṅga-uparika*) with head quarters at Navyāvakāśikā, possibly mod. Kāśiānī in Faridpur Dist. Vāraka was originally the name of a *Maṇḍala*, but afterwards Vārakamaṇḍala became the name of a *Viṣaya* called Vārakamaṇḍala *Viṣaya* (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 350, n. 3; *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 42). Suvarṇavīthī seems likewise to have originally been the name of a *Vithī* but in the record in question it appears to have indicated a province of the kingdom of Samācāradeva.

10 The Nandapur (near Surajgarhā in Monghyr Dist.) inscription referring to the sale of land at two Dināras per *Kulyavāpa* at a village called Joṅgayikā is supposed to refer to the Baigrām or the Pāhārpur-Mahāsthān legion. Mr. S. K. Saraswati (*V.R.S.* Mon., VI, p. 7) points out the remarkable position of *Kumārāmātya* Kulavṛddhi who was possibly a *Viṣayapati* directly appointed by the Gupta emperor unlike the officers in charge of the Koṭivarśa viṣaya who were appointed by the governor of the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. It may also be conjectured that the position was due to Kulavṛddhi having been the officer in charge of the *viṣaya* round the capital city. In that case both the Baigram and Paharpur regions formed parts of this Viṣaya. [Since the above was written, it has occurred to me that different price rates were prevalent in the same *viṣaya* and that the *Pustapālas* had to determine whether land was available at the rate quoted by the applicants.]

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endowment to be enjoyed for ever. The *Pañcamahāyajñas* were the five sacred duties of a Brāhmaṇa householder. They are enumerated as *adhyāpana, tarpaṇa, homa, bali* and *atithipūjana,* but sometimes as *bali, caru, vaiśyadeva, agnihotra* and *atithi.* The word *apratikara* is usually taken by scholars to mean land that yields no revenue to the state; but the true meaning seems to be the land for which no compensation was due to the temporary owner.[11] *Prāveśya,* derived from *praveśa* i.e. income or revenue, seems to indicate possession.[12] *Dināra* is the Gupta gold coin which was equal to 16 *rūpakas,* i.e., the Gupta silver coins. As I have shown elsewhere,[13] the Gupta *Kulyavāpa* was either about 38 *bighās* or about 125 *bighās* of land. The Gupta *Droṇavāpa* which was 1/8 of a *Kulyavāpa* was either about 5 *bighās* or about 16 *bighās* of land. It has also been shown that probably the bigger areas are actually indicated.

The names of the Brāhmaṇa recipients of the Kalaikuri grant end in *bhaṭṭa* and *datta* of which the latter is now a non-Brahmanic cognomen in Bengal. Noticing Brahmanic names with a large number of modern Bengali Kāyastha cognomens in several early epigraphs discovered in the Bengali speaking area, it has been suggested by some scholars that there is a considerable Brāhmaṇa element in the present day Kāyastha community of Bengal. The theory is very probable. It is well known that the Kāyastha (scribe) and Vaidya (physician) are professional castes, that is to say, that these castes have grown out respectively of the clerical and physician classes. The professions were not restricted and could be followed by people of different Varṇas[13a] including the Brāhmaṇas. It is therefore very

11 Note that the word *pratikara* has been used in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the sense of allowance paid by the state to dispossessed owners of temple lands (Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System,* p. 49); though the author renders *apratikara* by "without the right of alienation", *ibid,* p. 200, n. 1.

12 Cf. जम्बुदेवप्रावेश्यपृष्ठिमपोत्तक-गोष।टपुञ्जक, मूलनागिरट्टप्रावेश्य नित्वगोहाली (*Sel. Ins.,* p. 346 ff.); एतद्विहारप्रावेश्यशून्यप्रतिकरहञ्जिकखिलभूमि (*ibid.,* p. 335), etc.

13 *Select Inscriptions,* p. 501.

13a It must be noted that the Śūdras were no longer the despised class. In the 7th century, Yuan Chwang (Watters, I, 168) refers to the Śūdras as an agriculturist class. In the 11th century, Al-Birūnī (Sachau, I, p. 101) found no great difference between the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. According to him, members of the four *Varṇas* lived "together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings". The low-caste peoples were called *antyaja* who rendered various kinds of services and whose position was much lower than that of the

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probable that a number of Brāhmaṇa families (or families claiming to be called Brāhmaṇa) were mixed up with members of other *Varṇas* in forming the present Kāyastha and Vaidya communities of Bengal. The officer called Kāyastha (scribe) seems to have been instituted about the beginning of the Gupta period. The Kalaikuri inscription seems to distinguish the Kāyastha (scribe or a member of the clerical class) together with the *Kulika* and *Pustapāla*, from the *Kuṭumbin* or agriculturist householder. But the most important fact usually ignored is that in the early age inter-marriage (though theoretically banned) among the members of the different *Varṇas* was not unknown and commensality (not very strictly prohibited by the early law-givers) was not unpopular; and change of the traditional profession of a particular *Varṇa* was not uncommon. There is literary and epigraphic evidence to prove the facts. The *Caturvarṇa* division is moreover a broad conventional and theoretical classification which was never strictly true for the Indian society in any period of history. There were always different classes or communities; but communal rigidity of the later age was not in evidence in the early period. The references such as that to the Vālabha-Kāyasthavaṃśa in the Sanjan grant of 871 A.D.[14] and to the Śrīvāstavya-kulodbhūta-Kāyastha in the records of the Gāhaḍavālas,[15] certain restrictions on commensality among members of the different Varṇas as noticed by Al-Bīrūnī in the 11th cent. A.D. and similar other evidences appear to suggest that the Kāyasthas lost their original official character and became a social class or community in the early medieval period. But that Bengal's attitude towards the purity of blood of the communal organisations was not very strict is probably illustrated by such interesting institutions as that of the *Bhaṛār Meye*. It is well-known that as late as the 19th century members of the different communities of Bengali Hindus including the Brāhmaṇas were allowed to marry the *Bhaṛār Meye*, i.e., girls of unknown parentage and caste (some of them even belonging to Muslim families) brought from some distant locality for sale to willing bridegrooms. It may also be pointed out that families belonging originally to the agriculturist communities are often being mixed up with the Kāyasthas of Bengal even today.

Śūdras. The Śūdras appear to have attained this higher social position long before the time of Al-Bīrūnī.

14 *El.*, XVIII, p. 251.

15 *E.g.*, the Kamauli grant of Govindacandra, A.D. 1125; *El.*, IV, pp. 100-01.

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Sometimes it is asked, whether in the early period cognomens were already formed, that is to say, whether a particular name-ending was used by different members of the family. It is well-known that a large number of the cognomens now prevalent among the upper caste Hindus of Bengal is derived from the name-endings of the progenitors of the particular families stereotyped at a certain date prior to the late medieval period. This process of a name-ending becoming a cognomen began to operate in the early centuries of the Christian era. The first known king of the Gupta dynasty was Gupta whose son was Ghaṭotkaca; but when the latter's son Candragupta I founded an empire, his descendants always stuck to the name-ending *gupta* and soon the family became known as the Gupta dynasty. It must however be remembered that the process was not complete till much later times. In the early part of the eighth century there was a person named Dayitaviṣṇu whose son was Vapyaṭa; but when the latter's son Gopāla founded an empire, his descendants continued the use of the name-ending *pāla* and soon the family was known as the Pāla dynasty. The question is therefore whether at least some of the Brāhmaṇic name-endings found in the early inscriptions of the Bengali speaking area are to be taken as cognomens and not merely as name-endings, that is to say, whether the same name-ending was continued in a family at least in a number of cases. I am inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. In the Damodarpur inscriptions, the name-endings of officers are often the same as that of their successors who usually belonged to the same families.[16] It should also be noticed that in the present record more than one name having the same ending are very often placed one after another, and it is pertinent to suggest that these belonged to the same families.[17] Moreover there are only a few names which appear without any cognomen-like ending.

The formation of the name *Kaivarttaśarman* is interesting as the Kaivarttas were an influential community in North Bengal and they are known to have snatched away Varendra from the Pāla emperors in the 11th century A.D. But the most influential classes in the population of North Bengal during the Gupta period appear to have been the *Śreṣṭhins* (bankers),

16 *Select Inscriptions*, p. 328, n. 3. Cf. *anvayaprāpta-sācivya, id*, p. 272.

17 This characteristic is remarkable in the Nidhanpur inscription of Bhāskaravarman (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 33-41).

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the *Sārthavāhas* (traders), the *Kulikas* (artisans) and the *Kāyasthas* (scribes). The headmen of these classes often constituted the administrative board. The classification of the population based on profession as suggested by epigraphic evidence reminds one of a similar classification known to Megasthenes and is possibly another argument to indicate the conventional and theoretical character of the traditional division of the Indian people into four *Varṇas*.

The Kalaikuri inscription refers to a number of geographical units. The *Vīthī* or subdivision called Śṛṅgavera may have formed parts of the *Viṣaya* whose headquarters appear to be either at Pañcanagarī or at Puṇḍravardhana. The locality PŪRṆAKAUŚIKĀ situated in the Śṛṅgavera *Vīthī* may have been the official headquarters of the *Āyuktaka* or the subdivisional officer. The record also refers to the villages and village-groups HASTIŚĪRṢAVIBHĪTAKĪ, GULMAGANDHIKĀ, DHĀNYAPĀTALIKA and SAMGOHĀLI. The localities TĀPASAPOTTAKA, DAYITĀPOTTAKA (cf. place-names like Pṛṣṭhimapottaka)[18] and CITRAVĀTAṄGARA appear to have been included in Hastiśīrṣavibhītakī. Ādyapatha, situated in Gulmagandhikā, may have been the name of a locality or may have indicated the main road. The river VĀTĀ flowed through the Śṛṅgavera *Vīthī*. The record also mentions the city of PUṆḌRAVARDHANA the capital of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* which, as already noticed, has been identified with the present Mahāsthan in the Bogra District. The Vāṭānadī of the inscription may be the present Bārānaï flowing west to east through the southern part of the Rājshāhi Dist. The name of the Śṛṅgavera *Vīthī* seems to be preserved in that of the modern Siṅgrā Police Station in the Nator Subdivision of the same district, situated about 10 miles to the north-east of the junction of the Bārānaï and the Atraï. It may be pointed out in this connection that Dhanāidaha, the findspot of an inscription of Kumāra Gupta, is about 20 miles due south of Siṅgrā. I have not been able to identify the other localities mentioned in the Kalaikuri inscription. They may be searched about the southern bank of the Bārānaï.

18 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 346. *Pottaka* may be connected with the Bengali word *potā* (Sans. *potaka*), the site or foundation of a house. Cf. modern place-names like Chingripotā (near Calcutta).

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Text[1]

First Side

1. स्वस्ति (॥*) शृङ्गवेरवैथेय-पूर्ण्णं[कौ]शिकायाः[1a] आयुक्त[काच्युतदासोधिक]रणश्च हस्ति-शीर्ष[विभीतक्यां गुल्मगन्धि]-

2. [क्षायां] धान्यपाटलिक्षायां संगोहालिषु ब्राह्मणादीन्ग्रामकुटुम्बि[नः] [कुश]लमनु-वर्ण्य बोधयन्ति[1b] (॥*) विदितम्वो[2]

3. भविष्यति यथा इहवीथी-कुलिकभोम-कायस्थप्रभुचन्द्ररुद्रदासदेवदत्तलक्ष्मणक×× [विनयद?]-त्तकृष्ण-

4. दास-पुस्तपालसिङ्हनन्दि[3]यशोदामभिः वीथीमहत्तरकुमारदेवगरुडप्रजापतिउमय[शो]-[4] रामशर्मज्येष्ठ- .

5. दामस्वामिचन्द्रहरिसिङ्ह[4a] -कुटुम्बियशोविष्णुकुमारविष्णुकुमारभवकुमारभूतिकुमार-य[शः?]×स्तवै(खि?)लिनक(?)-

6. शिवकुण्डवसुशिवापरशिवदामरुद्रप्रभमित्रकृष्णमित्रमघशर्म्म[5]ईश्वरचन्द्ररुद्रभव××××-

7. श्रीनाथहरिशर्म्मगुप्तशर्म्मसुशर्म्महरि[6]अलातस्वामिब्रह्मस्वामिमहासेनभट्टस्वाम्य (?)×××-रू(?)पश-

8. र्म्मरुद्रशर्म्मकृष्णदत्तनन्ददामभवदत्त[7] अहिशर्म्मसोमविष्णुलक्ष्मणशर्म्मकीर्त्तिविष्णुक्र्म-शर्म्मशु-

9. क्कशर्म्मसर्प्पपालितकङ्कुटिविश्वशङ्करजयस्वामिकैवर्त्तशर्म्महिमशर्म्मपुरन्दरजयविष्णु××××-

10. सिङ्हदत्त[8]बोन्दनारायणदास[9] वीरनागराज्यनागगुहमहिभवनाथगुहविष्णुशर्व्वविष्णुवि×××

कुलदास × ×-

11. श्रीगुहविष्णुरामस्वामिकामनकुरुडरतिभद्र[10]अच्युतभद्रलीढकप्रभकीर्त्तिजयदत्तकालक(?)[11] अच्युतनरदेवभव-

12. भवरक्षितपिच्चकुरुडप्रवरकुरुडशर्व्वदासगोपाल-पुरोगाः वयं च विज्ञापिताः (।*) इह-वीथ्यामप्रतिकरखिलक्षेल-

1. From estampages. See also Plates in *Bangaśri* (Beng.), Baiśākh, 1350 B.S.

1a. The reading may be ०कोशिका०

1b. Read बोधयति

2. Read विदितं वो भवतु

3. Read ०सिंह

4. Read ०पत्युम०

4a. Read सिंह

5. Read ०शर्मेश्वर०

6. Read हर्यलात०

7. Read ०दत्ताहि०

8. Read सिंहदत्त

9. Read नारायण०

10. Read ०भद्राच्युत०

11. Read कालकाच्युत

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13. स्य शश्वत्कालोपभोगायाक्षयनीव्या द्विदीनारिक्यखिलक्षेत्रकुल्यवाप[12] विक्रयमर्य्यादया इच्छेमहि[13] प्रति

14. प्रति मातापित्त्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये पौण्ड्रवर्द्धनक-चातुर्व्विद्य-वाजिसनेय[14]चरणाभ्यन्तर-ब्राह्मण-देव-

15. भट्ट[15]अमरदत्तमहासेनदत्तानां पञ्चमहायज्ञप्रवर्त्तनाय नवकुल्यवापान्कीत्वा[16] दातुं[17] एभिरेवोप-[18]

16 रिनिर्दिष्टकग्रामेषु खिलक्षेत्राणि विद्यन्ते तदर्हथास्मत्तः अष्टादशदीनारान्गृहीत्वा एतान्नवकुल्यवा[पा*]-[19]

Second Side

17. न्यनु[पा]दयितुं (।*) यतः एषां कुलिकभीमादीनां विज्ञाप्यमुपलभ्य पुस्तपालसिङ्ह[19a]-नन्दियशोदा[न्नोश्च अ?]-

18. वधारणयावधृत्वा[20]स्त्ययमिहवीथ्यामप्रतिकरखिलक्षेत्रस्य शश्वत्कालोपभोगायाक्षयनीव्या द्विदीना-

19. रिक्यकुल्यवाप[21]विक्र योनुवृत्तस्तद्दीयतां नास्ति विरोधः कश्चिदित्यवस्थाप्य कुलिक-भीमादि[भ्यो[22] अष्टादश]-

20. दीनारानुपसङ्हरितकानायीकृत्य[23] हस्तिशीर्षविभीतक्यां धान्यपाटलिका[यां] [संगो-हालिक?]ग्रामेषु × × × ×-

21. द्यां[24] दक्षिणोद्देशेषु अष्टौ कुल्यवापाः[25] धान्यपाटलिकग्रामस्य पश्चिमोत्तरोद्देशे [सद्यःखात?]परिखा-वेष्टित-[26]

22. मुत्तरेण वाटानदी पश्चिमेन गुल्मगन्धिकाग्रामसीमानमिति[27] कुल्यवाप[27a] [ए]को गुल्मागन्धिकायां पूर्व्वे-

12. Read ०वाप
13. Read इच्छामः
14. Read चातुर्वेद्य-वाज
15. Read ०भट्टामर०
16. Read ०वापा०
17. Read दातुम्
18. Read एव्वेवोपरि० पादयितुमिति।
19. Read ०वापाननु०. Better ०वापान्प्रति-
19a. Read सिंह०
20. Read ०वधृत्यास्त्य०
21. Read ०वाप०
22. Read ०दिभ्योष्टादश or ०दिभ्यः अष्टादश
23. Read ०नुपसंहृत० ०षु अमुकग्रामाद्यां (for अमुकग्रामादिषु). We cannot read वाटानद्यां
24. The reading intended may be
25. Read कुल्यवापाः
26. Read ०वेष्टित उत्तरेण
27. Read सीमानश्चेति
27a. Read ०वाप

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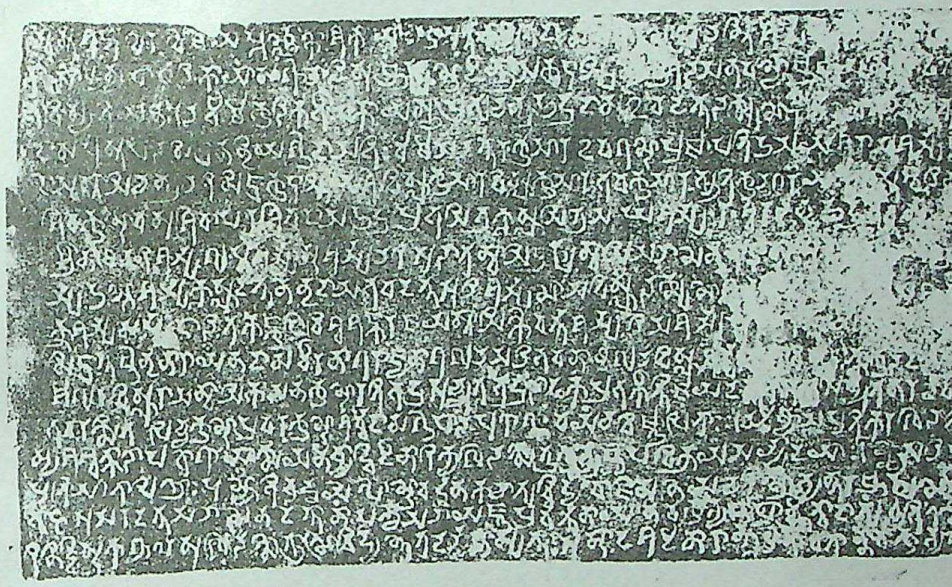
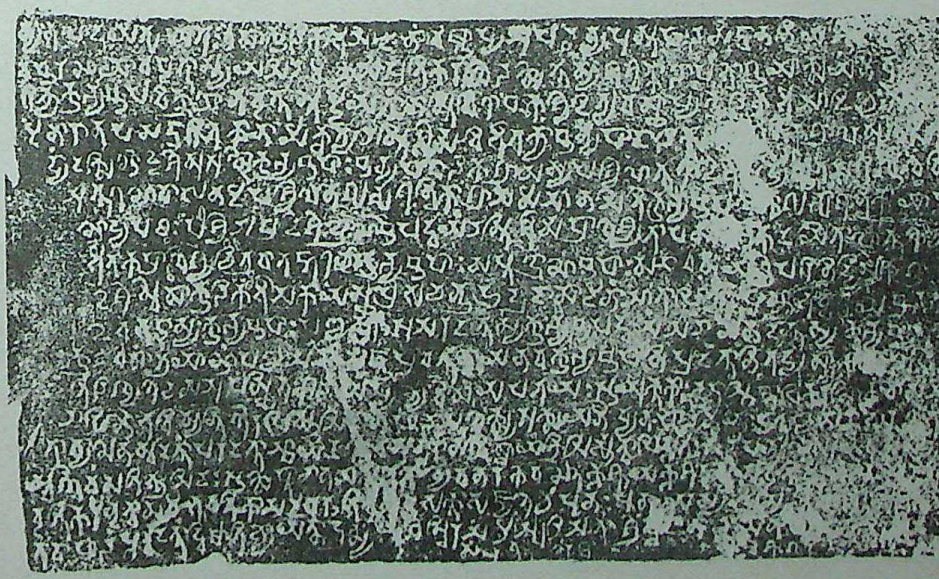
Kalaikuri Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 120.

First Side



Second Side



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23. णाद्यपथः पश्चिमप्रदेशे द्रोणवापद्वयं[28] हस्तिशीर्षप्रावेश्य ताप[सपोत्तके] दयितापोत्तके च वि-

24. भीतकप्रावेश्यचित्रवातङ्गरे [च] कुल्यवापाः[29] सप्त द्रोणवापाः[30] षट् (।*) एषु यथोपरिनिर्द्दिष्टकग्रामप्र-

25. देशेष्वेषां कुलिकभीम-कायस्थप्रभुचन्द्ररुद्रदासादीनां मातापित्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये ब्राह्मण-

26. देवभट्टस्य कुल्यवापाः[31] पञ्च [कु ५] अमरदत्तस्य कुल्यवापद्वयं[32] महासेनदत्तस्य कुल्यवा[पद्वयं][32a]

27. कु २[33] (।*) एषां त्रयाणां पञ्चमहायज्ञप्रवर्त्तनाय नवकुल्यवापानि[34] प्रदत्तानि (॥*) तद्युष्माकं × × × × ×-

28. ति (।*) लिख्यते च समुपस्थितकाल[35] [येप्यन्ये] विषयपतयः आयुक्तकाः कुटुम्बि-नोधिकरणिका वा [सम्व्यव]-[36]

29. हारिणो भविष्यन्ति तैरपि [भूमिदानफल]मवेक्ष्य अक्षयनीव्यानुपालनीया[37] (॥*) उक्तञ्च महाभारते भगव-

30. ता व्यासेन (।*)

स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा[38] यो [हरेत वसुन्धरां][39] (।*)
[स] विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पि[तृभिः सह पच्यते] (॥*)
[षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि]

31. स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः [।*]
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता [च] तान्येव नरके वसेत् (॥*)
कृशाय कृश[वृत्तये?] वृत्तिं × × × × × ×[40] (।*)

32. [भूमिं?] वृत्तिकरोन्दत्वा [सुखी] भवति कामद(ः*) (॥*)
[वहुभिर्व्वसुधा] भुक्ता भुज्यते च पुनः पुनः (।*)
यस्य [यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य]

28. Read ०वाप० 29. Read कुल्यवापाः 30 Read द्रोणवापाः

31. Read ०वापाः. कु ५ is written on the *akṣara* अ. It is an abbreviated form of कुल्यवापद्वयं. Possibly the engraver at first left out कु ५ and began अमर०, but immediately noticed the inaccuracy.

32. Read ०वाप० 32a. Read ०वाप० 33. *I.e.*, कुल्यवापद्वयं in contraction

34. Read ०वापाः प्रदत्ताः 35. Read ०कालीया येप्यन्ये भाविकाले विषयपतयः. Or, ०काले (=कलियुगे) येप्यन्ये विषयपतयः

36. Read संव्यव० 37. Read ०नीवीरनुपालनीया or ०नीव्या-नुपालनीया [दत्तिरियमिति]

38. Read ०दत्तां वा 39. Read वसुन्धराम्

40. The reading may have been something like वृत्तिं यच्छेन्महीपतिः

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33. तदा फलं[41] (॥*)

पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यन्नाद्रक्ष्य[42] युधिष्ठिर (।*)
महीम्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनु[पालनं][43] (॥*)

34. संव्वत्[44] १०० २० वैशाखदि १(?)

Translation

Lines 1-2. May it be well. From Pūrṇṇakauśikā in the Śṛṅgavera *Vīthī* (Subdivision), the *Āyuktaka* (Subdivisional Officer) Acyutadāsa and the (members of the Vīthī) Board (of administration) thus inform, after having questioned about their welfare, the Brāhmaṇas and other agriculturist householders residing in Hastiśīrṣavibhītakī, in Gulmagandhikā, in Dhānyapāṭalikā, (and) in (the village-group) Saṃgohāli:

Lines 2-12. "It will be (hereby) known to you that the *Kulika* (artisan) Bhīma, the *Kāyasthas* (scribes) Prabhucandra, Rudradāsa, Devadatta, Lakṣmaṇa, ..., Vinayadatta and Kṛṣṇadāsa, and the *Pustapālas* (keepers of the records of administration and accounts) Siṃhanandin and Yaśodāman of this Vīthī have informed ourselves attended by the *Vīthī-mahattaras* (the Vīthī Elders) Kumāradeva, Gaṇḍa, Prajāpati (or Gaṇḍa-Prajāpati), Umayaśas, Rāmaśarman, Jyeṣṭhadāman, Svāmicandra and Harisiṃha, and by the householders Yaśoviṣṇu, Kumāraviṣṇu, Kumārabhava, Kumārabhūti, Kumārayaśas, ...sta, Vailinaka (?), Śivakuṇḍa, Vasuśiva, Aparaśiva, Dāmarudra, Prabhamitra, Kṛṣṇamitra, Maghaśarman, Īśvaracandra, Rudrabhava (or, °bhūti?),..., Śrīnātha, Hariśarman, Guptaśarman, Suśarman, Hari, Alātasvāmin, Brahmasvāmin, Mahāsena, Bhaṭṭasvāmin, A..., Rūpaśarman, Ruṣṭaśarman, Kṛṣṇadatta, Nandadāman, Bhavadatta, Ahiśarman, Somaviṣṇu, Lakṣmaṇaśarman, Kīrttiviṣṇu, Kramaśarman, Śukraśarman, Sarppapālita, Kaṅkuṭi, Viśva, Śaṅkara, Jayasvāmin, Kaivarttaśarman, Himaśarman, Purandara, Jayaviṣṇu, ...,Siṃhadatta, Bonda, Nārāyaṇadāsa, Vīranāga, Rājyanāga, Guha, Mahi, Bhavanātha, Guhaviṣṇu, Śarvvaviṣṇu, Vi..., Kuladāsa, ...śrī, Guhaviṣṇu, Rāmasvāmin, Kāmanakuṇḍa, Ratibhadra,

41. Read फलम्

42. Read °द्रक्ष. But possibly पूर्वदत्ता and यन्नाद्रक्ष्या were intended.

43. Read पालनम्

44. Read संवत्. There is an erasure (म्व ?) between सं and व्व The reading does not appear to be सम्वत्सरे.

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Acyutabhadra, Līḍhaka, Prabhakīrtti, Jayadatta, Kālaka, Acyuta, Naradeva, Bhava, Bhavarakṣita, Piccakuṇḍa, Pravarakuṇḍa, Śarvadāsa and Gopāla (as follows):

Lines 12-17. " 'With a view to increasing the merits of the parents of each of us (and) in accordance with the custom (*maryādā*) regarding the sale of each *Kulyavāpa* of fallow land at 2 *Dīnāras* (prevalent) with reference to permanent endowments of non-compensatory fallow land to be enjoyed for ever, we are willing, after purchasing 9 *Kulyavāpas* (of land) in this Vīthī, to give them to the Brāhmaṇas Devabhaṭṭa, Amaradatta and Mahāsenadatta who are inhabitants of (the city of Puṇḍravardhana, who belong to the Vājasaneyacaraṇa and who are versed in the four Vedas, so that their five great sacrifices may proceed uninterruptedly. In the villages referred to above, there are fallow lands. So, may you please grant us the nine *Kulyavāpas* (of land) after having accepted from us eighteen *Dīnāras* (as price of the land).'

Lines 17-27. "After that, having received the statement from the *Kulika* Bhīma and others, having ascertained by the ascertainment of the *Pustapālas* Siṃhanandin and Yaśodāman (who placed the facts in the following terms): 'The sale of each *Kulyavāpa* (of land) at two *Dīnāras* with reference to permanent endowments of non-compensatory fallow land to be enjoyed for ever is prevalent in this *Vīthī*. So, may you grant (the land). There is no inconsistency (of the petitioners' prayer with the interest of the state) whatsoever', and having realised from the *Kulika* Bhīma and other persons the eighteen *Dīnāras* which were offered, we have granted nine *Kulyavāpas* (of land)—

Eight *Kulyavāpas* are in Hastiśīrṣavibhītakī, in Dhānyapāṭalikā, in Saṃgohālikagrāma, in ..., in the southern quarters; one *Kulyavāpa* surrounded by a recently excavated ditch lies in the north-western quarters of Dhānyapāṭalikagrāma, with the Vāṭā river in the north, with the boundaries of Gulmagandhikāgrāma in the west: (of the eight *Kulyavāpas*, again,) two *Droṇavāpas* (= ¼ *Kulyavāpa*) are in Gulmagandhikā, in the western quarter, with Ādyapatha in the east; seven *Kulyavāpas* and six *Droṇavāpas* (= ¾ *Kulyavāpa*) in Tāpasapottaka and Dayitāpottaka in the possession of Hastiśīrṣa and in Citravātaṅgara in the possession of Vibhītaka:

in the villages indicated above, for the performance of the five great sacrifices (of the Brāhmaṇas), (in the following proportions): to the

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Brāhmaṇa Devabhaṭṭa five *Kulyavāpas*, (in figure) *Ku.* 5; to Amaradatta two *Kulyavāpas;* to Mahāsenadatta two *Kulyavāpas*, (in figure) *Ku.* 2.

Lines 27-30. "So, you ... It is further requested that having noticed the results of making gifts of land, those who belong to the present time as also those *Viṣayapatis* (officers in charge of districts). *Āyuktakas* (officers in charge of subdivisions), agriculturist householders and members of the (Administrative) Board who will administer (in future time) should protect (this grant) according to the (custom relating to) permanent endowments. (To this effect), the following has also been said by the venerable Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata:*

Lines 30-33. [Imprecatory verses, five in number, left untranslated.]

Lines 34. (Executed) in the (Gupta) year 120, on the Vaiśākha day 1 (i.e. on the first day of the month of Vaiśākha).*

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

* A very short note apparently on the present record, written by Mr. N. B. Sanyal, Curator of the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, has been recently published by Dr. B. C. Sen in *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1942), p. xii, footnote. Mr. Sanyal however says, "The inscription is dated in *Saṃvat* 121 on the 1st day of Vaiśākha.... It records the purchase of 9 *Kulyavāpas* of land at the rate of 2 *Dināras* for each *Kulyavāpa*, distributed in the villages of Hastiśirṣa, Vibhītaka, Gubhyagandhikā and Dhānyā pāṭalikā." It will be seen from the note that Mr. Sanyal has failed to decipher many important passages of the record including several geographical names. His suggestion regarding the two villages Hastiśirṣa and Vibhītaka is not supported by the passage *Hastiśirṣavibhītakyām* of the text. So far as my estampages go, the reading Gupta year *121* for *120* and *Gubhyagandhikā* for *Gulmagandhikā* are unwarranted. The scratches in which Mr. Sanyal finds the figure *1* could have been considered to be the faint traces of a figure if only they were close to the symbol for 20 as those for 100 and 20 actually are.

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The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir*

At the end of this retrospect of the historical period dealt with by the chronicler, we may pause to consider his general attitude towards distinct classes and sections of his countrymen. As regards the people in general, Kalhaṇa's views partook of their usual impartial character. Repeatedly in his work Kalhaṇa gives instances of touching sympathy of the people with the afflictions in the royal family—witness his pathetic descriptions of the people's lamentations at the final departure of Ananta and Sūryamatī from the capital (VII, 349-50) as well as at the *Satī* of Sūryamatī (VII, 480) and of Uccala's queens (VIII, 369). [This point is ignored by Stein I, *Introduction* p. 16.] Kalhaṇa also records, but with little sympathy, the people's lamentations for the unworthy pretender Mallārjuna on his entrance to the capital (cf. VIII, 2300-2307). In this connection Kalhaṇa expresses by means of two illustrations taken from the *Mahābhārata* the profound truth that the judgment on characters must vary according to changing circumstances. To take another instance, the chronicler shows how the people's transference of sympathy from the reigning king to a rival was justified in some cases. This applies for instance to the people's preference of the generous Harṣa to his mean and parsimonious brother king Utkarṣa (VII, 773-74). Similarly justifiable, according to the chronicler's own description (VII, 1198-1200), was the preference shown later to the brothers Uccala and Sussala (whose valour alone saved the Kashmirian army from utter destruction by the Daradas) over the cowardly king Harṣa (who had just failed ignominiously in the siege of a fort of Rājapuri). Even after the change of sentiment in favour of Uccala and Sussala the people, soothed by Harṣa's proclamation of general amnesty, rallied round the king and helped him to repulse the invader (VII, 1332 ff.). On the other hand, the chronicler unhesitatingly condemns the unreasoning fickleness of the people who in Sussala's reign longed for the pretender Bhikṣācara (VIII, 796 ff.) and after the latter's accession sighed for Sussala's return (VIII, 893 ff.). As the author sagely comments (VIII, 896):—'In a moment they show enmity and in a moment again attachment. The vulgar people, just like animals, do not require any reason for their actions.'

* Continued from *I.H.Q.*, vol. XVIII, p. 341.

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In the course of his narrative Kalhaṇa has occasion several times to mention instances of the abject cowardice of the Kashmirian soldiery. Thus speaking of the desertion of the forces of the Governor Ānanda in the fight with Uccala, Kalhaṇa says that they abandoned their equipment 'as if they had been helpless animals' (VII, 1374). Again, he justly dwells on the baseness of the Kashmirian soldiery who deserted Bhikṣācara to join Sussala after being defeated at 'the wonderful battle' at Parṇotsa. (cf. VIII, 922. 'What excellence was not displayed by those Kashmirians who fought against one master, and by their defeat brought disgrace on the other?') The chronicler's highest scorn is reserved (VIII, 1322 ff.) for the cowardly gang of royal relatives and troops who after Sussala's murder basely took to flight, leaving the king's body to be multilated and carried off by the ruffianly conspirators. As the author ruefully observes, his pen, although hardened by recording names and deeds of numbers of rogues from Harṣa's time onwards, is unable to name those 'worse than wicked' persons concerned in this base act. The chronicler contents himself by saying that with one honourable exception whom he duly mentions by name, the whole Rājaputra tribe covered themselves with disgrace. The king's relatives 'with fat bellies' who had received his favours scarcely ventured to look at the corpse. With the exception of two Brahmans and a chief whom Kalhaṇa mentions by name, all the troops fled in ignominious panic.

We have just referred to the severe censure passed by the chronicler on the Rājaputras who shared in the general disgrace of abandoning the body of their murdered king Sussala to the traitors. Another instance of such base desertion is recorded to their discredit in Kalhaṇa's account of the last days of Harṣa: 'Even those Rājaputras, Anantapāla and the rest, who claim descent from the thirty-six families and who in their pride would not concede a higher position to the sun himself, they too left him step by step and their horses disappeared in the dense darkness, (VII, 1617-18). In general, however, these foreign mercenaries distinguished themselves as much by their heroism as by their loyalty in their master's service. The anecdote told of the Rājaputra Bijja, an attendant of Prince Kalaśa, at the interview between the angry king Ananta and the Prince (cf. Bijja's bold words VII, 324: 'O king, though the foremost of the proud men, do you not know that men of honour should never break the great vow of keeping their self-respect?' *Ibid.*, 325:—'How can I as a Rājaputra, when I have taken

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my pay and carry arms, abandon my master in these straits while life is in me?') does honour at once to his 'superhuman courage and his touching devotion. Of the brothers Prajji and Sujji who repeatedly distinguished themselves by their high valour in king Sussala's service, the chronicler writes with enthusiastic admiration (cf. VIII, 1150: 'Prajji alone of spotless fame safeguarded in this land the honour of the sword and of learning which the wickedness of the times had shaken'). Immediately after Sussala's murder Sujji joined Jayasiṃha at the capital after skilfully eluding the enemy and brought victory to the new king's cause. At the battle of the Gambhīrā river where Sujji gained a glorious victory over a formidable coalition of Ḍāmara rebels, he showed such conspicuous bravery as to deserve the chronicler's highest praise (cf. VIII, 1498:—'Praisworthy was his enterprise that he went forth singly undertaking to fight so great a coalition of brave men': *Ibid.*, 1503, 'The enemy's troops as soon as they saw him crossing with a few soldiers, became agitated like a row of trees shaken by the wind'.) This great victory, as Kalhaṇa very properly notes (VIII, 1516), secured Jayasiṃha in possession of the kingdom. Driven by the king's hostility into exile, Sujji sullied his good name by joining the pretender Loṭhana at Lohara (VIII, 1862). But he showed a chivalrous magnanimity in his treatment of the captive Lakṣmaka who had been the cause of his ruin (VIII, 1893). Recalled by the king, Sujji distinguished himself by receiving the surrender of Lohara. How the king basely turned against his faithful general and caused his treacherous assassination has been narrated in another place.

As regards the class of Ḍāmaras or territorial lords, we have already seen how they constituted a constant menace to the peace and tranquility of the kingdom specially from Harṣa's time onwards. Kalhaṇa's bitter ex exjerience of the turbulence and lawlessness of this class led him (VIII, 7 etc.) to apply to them the characteristic epithet of 'robbers' (*dasyus*). The avarice as well as boorishness of this class is illustrated by Kalhaṇa's picturesque description of their brief spell of power during the misrule of the usurper Bhikṣācara (cf. VIII, 855-857 where we are told that the Ḍāmaras divided the royal stores with others and that the 'robbers resembling a dense mass of goblins' tasted in the city the pleasures of heaven 'though they were fit only for rustic fare'). At the beginning of the reign of Jayasiṃha they betrayed their utter lack of patriotism and even of decency (VIII, 1493-94) by offering the throne to Somapāla of Rājapuri who was 'no better than a brute animal'

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in the hope of monopolising the power for themselves. Afterwards when they proceeded to the capital to offer their submission to the king, they showed their vulgar taste in an extravagant display (cf. VIII, 1535). Elsewhere Kalhaṇa, while praising a Ḍāmara's wife of Kṣatriya family who became a *Satī* out of grief for her mortally wounded husband, refers by way of contrast to the usual customs of Ḍāmara widows who would yield themselves up to common folk (VIII, 2337-38). On the other hand, Kalhaṇa with his usual impartiality mentions with high praise individual Ḍāmaras who were more or less exceptions to the general rule (This point is missed by Stein I, p. 19; *Ibid.*, II, Note G). Such were the Ḍāmaras of the family of Sūryavarmacandra which, as Kalhaṇa notes in a passage (VIII, 2780) above quoted, was uniformly loyal to the Royal House of Malla. Janakacandra, the eldest son of Sūryavarmacandra, alienated by Harṣa's policy of systematic persecution of the Ḍāmaras, joined in inviting Uccala whom he was chiefly instrumental in raising to the throne after the resulting civil war. He was rewarded for his services with high honours. But he behaved with such arrogance as to bring about his own fall (VIII, 15 ff.). Gargacandra, the younger brother of Janakacandra, became a great favourite of Uccala and helped him to repulse the dangerous invasion of his brother Sussala. After Uccala's murder Gargacandra showed conspicuous courage and touching devotion by avenging his master's death on the heads of the conspirators (cf. VIII, 355: 'Of such bravery and skill in a desperate enterprise as this illustrious man displayed, I have not heard anywhere, even in stories;' *Ibid.*, 361:—'Garga when he had accomplished his task and appeased his wrath, threw himself down on the throne and lamented long over his lord'.). Refusing the offer of the throne for which he is praised (VIII, 370) justly by the chronicler, Gargacandra raised to the throne Salhaṇa a half-brother of Uccala, thus becoming a real king-maker. Going over to the side of Sussala with whom he formed a matrimonial alliance, Gargacandra took part in raising him to the throne. But Sussala's insistence upon the surrender of the young son of Uccala drove Gargacandra into rebellion which ended in his imprisonment and death. After Sussala's murder Pañcacandra, Gargacandra's son, immediately joined Jayasiṃha and helped him to secure the throne for himself (VIII, 1393 ff.). After Pañcacandra's death his younger brother Saṣṭhacandra rendered loyal service to the king by sharing in the siege of Śirahśilā castle and by defeating the pretender Bhoja's allies. Other Ḍāmaras are also mentioned by the chronicler for conspicuous loyalty to the

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ruling house. In his account of Sussala's reign Kalhaṇa introduces us (VIII, 1069 and *Ibid.*, 1137) to two heroic ladies connected with Gargacandra's family, viz. Sillā the mother of Vijaya (Garga's brother-in-law) and Chuḍḍā (Gargacandra's wife), who led the royal troops and were killed fighting with the rebels. Well might the author condemn with unmeasured severity the actors in these grim tragedies, viz. the cruel enemy leader (cf. VIII, 1138:—'Thus cruelly did this wicked man commit another murder of a woman. What difference, however, is there between animals, Mlecchas, robbers and devils?') and the cowardly royal troops (cf. *Ibid.*, 1139:—'Those of Lohara who, like cattle had fled and left their mistress, a woman, when she was being killed, O wonder, took up again the sword').

It is no doubt in consonance with the traditional view of Kāyasthas (or petty officials), embodying the bitter experience of past generations, that Kalhaṇa again and again writes with biting satire of the wickedness of this class. Thus while describing (VIII, 85 ff.) with evident relish the suppression of Kāyasthas by Uccala, Kalhaṇa makes the king remember a verse which has been traced with slight differences in the *Manusaṃhitā* VII, 123 (The verse is as follows: 'Officials in truth are eager to kill, desirous of evil, robbers of others' property, rogues and demons; he should protect his subjects from them'). The Kāyasthas, Kalhaṇa goes on, are 'plagues for the people'; worse even than the crab and the white ant, the ungrateful Kāyastha when in power destroys everything; like a *Vetāla* the Kāyastha slays his benefactor without a scruple (Stein I. *Introd.* p. 19 suggests that Kalhaṇa's opinion of the Kāyasthas was based on personal experience. But the fact of Kṣemendra's indulgence in a similar diatribe against the Kāyasthas in his *Narmamālā* above quoted and Kalhaṇa's reference to the *Manusaṃhitā* verse just mentioned leave no room for doubt about the main source of the chronicler's inspiration).

Kalhaṇa's opinion of the class of merchants is expressed (VIII, 128-134) with his usual biting satire in connection with the anecdote of Uccala's judgment in the difficult law-suit between a depositor and a fraudulent merchant. A merchant engaged in an embezzlement suit, says the chronicler, is more to be feared than a tiger, as he shows a face smooth as oil, speaks little and puts on a gentle appearance. The courtezan, the Kāyastha, the clerk and the merchant are all deceitful by nature and being trained by teachers are superior to a poisoned arrow. The merchant with his forehead, eyeholes, ears and heart painted with sandal paste, his mouth

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narrow like a needle and his huge belly, destroys life in a moment drawing up blood as well as flesh. (In thinking, Bk. I, *Introd.* p 20, that the above picture of the cheating merchant and his ways is drawn from personal experience, Stein ignores the traditional opinion of this class which, as in the case of the Kāyasthas, must have been based on the experience of generations).

From the long and detailed account of the *Rājatarangiṇī* we can form a clear idea of the religious conditions in the kingdom during the preceding centuries. We learn that Buddhism, Śaivaism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śakti worship were equally known to the people. From the fact that Kalhaṇa mentions not one single authentic instance of religious persecution during the whole course of the country's history, it can be inferred that the different faiths existed peacefully side by side. How close were the bonds drawn between Brahmanism and Buddhism in particular is proved by the fact to which Stein (I, *Introd.* p. 9) draws attention, viz. that again and again in Kalhaṇa's narrative royal as well as private donors are described as showing equal zeal in founding Brahmanical and Buddhist shrines and monasteries. Independent evidence of the high position of the founder of Buddhism in the Brahmanical religious system of Kashmir is furnished by Kṣemendra's praise of Buddha as an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu in his *Daśāvatāracarita* (Canto IX) as well as by the inclusion of Buddha's birthday in the list of festive days in the *Nīlamata*, the cannonical authority on the Brahmanical cult in Kashmir (cf. Stein, *loc. cit*). Kalhaṇa's religious views fully partook of the prevailing tendencies. Himself a devout Śaiva, as his introductory verses prefixed to each Book of his Chronicle testify, he was yet catholic enough to indicate in many passages his respect for Buddhism as well as his interest in Buddhist images and shrines. His healthy attitude towards religion is well illustrated by the contempt he repeatedly expresses towards false *gurus*, as for example in the satirical picture of the evil associates of the youthful Kalaśa quoted below (p. 34). From his negative account of the beneficent rule of Yaśaskara we learn that he viewed with dislike married ascetics, Brahman *gurus* drinking spirits and offering fish and cakes in (Tantric) sacrifices while concocting *Paddhatis* in their support, and lastly women assuming the *rôle* of (Tāntrik) *gurus*. (See VI, 10-12 and especially VI, 11-12 *n*).

It is characteristic of the privileged position occupied by Brahmans in Kashmir (as in Ancient India generally) that Brahman assemblies from

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Agrahāras as well as temple priests are found frequently in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* to have influenced the internal administration by means of their solemn fasts. The instances recorded by the chronicler prove that this bloodless, but frequently effective, form of passive resistance was resorted to not only as a protest against financial exactions, but also for getting rid of an all-powerful but unpopular minister (VII, 13 ff.), for effecting reconciliation between a king and his father (VII, 400), for drawing the king's attention to the indifference of the ministers during a siege of the capital by a pretender (VIII, 768), for forcing a pretender to make room for the legitimate king (VIII, 901-3) and so forth. On one memorable occasion the Brahman assemblies were summoned by a commander-in-chief just after his triumph over a child-king, for the purpose of electing a successor to the throne (V, 457 ff.). The assembly justified itself by setting aside the claims of the foolish commander-in-chief and electing the poor but wise Brahman Yaśaskara, who became the founder of a new dynasty. It is curious to find that Kalhaṇa, notwithstanding his Brahman descent, shows no sympathy for the solemn fasts of the Brahman assemblies and the temple priests, even when their object, according to his own showing, was laudable enough. Repeatedly (VI, 339 etc.) he shows how the Brahmans allowed themselves to be won over by bribery. Mention is also made of their use of fasts for blackmail, e.g. at the critical time when king Sussala was besieged by the rebels at the capital and was being deserted by his troops (VIII, 811). Elsewhere (VII, 13 ff.) Kalhaṇa exposes the malignity of the 'wicked-minded Brahmans' who even after appeasement by the king sought to disgrace his minister by a trick; but were driven in flight to their own houses, according to the chronicler's story, by an evil spirit (Kṛtyā) that they had raised. In one place, however, (VIII, 2224 ff.) we have an anecdote of a young Brahman as illustrating the irrepressible power of 'the gods of the earth' even in this Kali age. When a wicked minister of king Jayasiṃha had made himself obnoxious by increasing the imposts and when the Brahmans of Avantipura had protested in vain by their usual methods of solemn fasts and self-immolations, the Brahman Vijayarāja suddenly attacked and all but killed the unpopular minister inside the palace. Boldly avowing the crime, he was killed fighting desperately with the royal troops. On his arm was found written upon a leaf the famous verse of the *Bhagavadgītā* III, 8) 'From *yuga* to *yuga* I come into existence to protect the righteous, to destroy the evil doers and to restore the sacred law'. The desire which

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he expressed in his death by this verse, comments the chronicler, sanctified him.

Kalhaṇa's style

We have now finished our examination of the main contents of Kalhaṇa's great chronicle. In attempting a critical estimate of his worth as a historian, we may begin by observing that he shows himself usually a master of plain simple narrative, although indulging from time to time in the intricacies of style dear to the heart of a *Kavi*. The soliloquies, orations and dialogues, which figure so largely in his work, while serving admirably the purpose of diversifying the form of his narrative, give it a touch of great vividness. This last applies not merely to the form, but also to the substance, of Kalhaṇa's work. Of vivid descriptions of scenes we have brilliant examples in Cakravarman's entrance into the capital after his great victory over the Tantrins (V, 341-47), the majesty of Harṣa's appearance (VII, 876-78) as well as the splendour of the ladies of his palace (VII, 928-31) and of his royal court (VII, 946-49), Sussala's victorious return to Śrīnagar (VIII, 947-53), the sight of the murdered Sussala's corpse (VIII. 1334-1339), and Bhikṣācara's last sally against his treacherous assailants (VIII, 1744-50). Kalhaṇa excels above all in his life-like portraits of lowly characters like upstarts, knaves and impostors, which are drawn invariably with a master's hand. Very realistic is his description (VII, 38 ff.) of 'the low-born mean Kāyastha' Bhadreśvara, who beginning life with his hereditary occupation of a gardner, rose to be an office-boy and was then elevated by the all-powerful minister Tuṅga to the charge of the Gṛhakṛtya office. Kalhaṇa hits off the appalling wickedness of his character by saying that resembling an untimely death he 'cut off the sustenance of gods, cows, Brahmans, the poor, strangers and royal servants', and that worse than a Kāpālika who lives on corpses he 'did not even allow his own people to live'. Very vivid and humorous is Kalhaṇa's description (VII, 111) of Candramukha, the illegitimate son of a clerk, who became the king's favourite and 'beginning with a cowrie accumulated crores'. Even after reaching his great position, he used to sell to his own servants the cakes brought to him as presents 'in accordance with the hereditary occupation of his family.' A vivid picture of an assorted set of knaves and impostors is drawn by the author in his account (VII, 277 ff.) of the evil associates of the youthful Prince Kalaśa. They consisted of firstly a false incestuous teacher, secondly, a false 'cat-

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merchant' (so-called from his peculiarity of keeping a black cat) who became a *guru* of dyers and other craftsmen and gave relief to honourable and learned men by putting his evil-smelling hand on their heads, thirdly, a strolling player who was a persistent corrupter of women and kept company with musicians resembling sewers, and fourthly, a silly Brahman village astrologer, *guru* and procurer who was surnamed *muṣṭiloṣṭaka* for guessing things hidden in people's fists. [That Kalhaṇa's outspoken contempt for upstarts was not always due, as Stein I. *Introd.* p. 19 seems to suggest, to aristocratic hauteur is proved by a number of instances. Thus he gives (VI, 296, 322) high character to Bhuyya, the son of a litter-carrier whom Queen Diddā raised to the position of City-Prefect. Elsewhere he mentions (VII. 208 ff.) with high praise Haladhara the son of a humble temple watchman of the Vaiśya caste as well as his nephew Bimba for their loyal services on King Ananta's behalf as well as for their pious acts].

Dramatic power of a high order is exhibited (IV, 640 ff.) by the chronicler in the dialogue between a number of aggrieved Brahmans and their oppressive king Jayāpīḍa. When the Brahmans' spirited protest against their humiliation was stifled by the angry and mocking comment of the king, 'the twice-born Iṭṭila, a treasure of Brahmanical dignity', mustered up courage to give him a fitting reply. The king, roused to fury by Iṭṭila's threatening him with the staff of Brahman (*Brahmadaṇḍa*), burst out with the impious words, 'May that staff of Brahman fall! Why does it tarry even for a single day?' And, surely enough, along with the Brahman's angry retort, a pole from the canopy fell upon the king's limb and caused him a lingering death.

Containing all the elements of a drama is Kalhaṇa's vivid and detailed account (VIII, 297 ff.) of the assassination of king Uccala. The king's fatal refusal to heed the last friendly warning, his unsuspecting walk into the fatal trap of the conspirators, the feint of a kneeling suppliant followed by the first treacherous dagger-thrust, the king's reproachful words to the one honest man in the company and lastly, his heroic though unavailing resistance are portrayed before us with life-like vividness. (The reader will notice some striking points of coincidence in the description of the murder of Julius Caesar in Shakespeare's drama). No wonder that the chronicler in his usual moralising vein reads in this awful tragedy the inevitable downfall of earthly greatness. A great point is added to the tragic picture by his pathetic account of the king's lonely funeral:—'Nobody looked on when he was

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slain or when he was burnt. Quickly he disappeared from sight as if he had flown away' (VIII. 340).

Instinct with high pathos and dramatic effect as well as the sense of inexorable destiny is Kalhaṇa's vivid account (VIII, 1276 ff.) of the tragic death of king Sussala. With a persistent delusion which Kalhaṇa finds explicable in a man of his extraordinary vigilance only on the assumption of a perverse destiny (VIII, 1276-78), the king gave his fullest confidence to a low-born wretch who was all the while plotting for his assassination (VIII, 1284). A loyal servant hearing of the conspiracy revealed it to the king who, however, with characteristic fatality expressed his complete disbelief in its existence in the presence of the assembled traitors (VIII, 1290). On the fateful day the king summoned the arch-conspirators to meet him alone in the palace and when a few faithful attendants still lingered in his room, he drove them away with words which proved only too prophetic, 'Let him stop here who is a traitor' (VIII, 1303). With the words 'Fie, what treason' crossing his lips, the conspirators killed him before he could offer any resistance. As if nothing was wanting to complete the tragedy, the body of the murdered king, basely deserted by the cowardly royal troops was mutilated and carried away by the conspirators who 'made it a spectacle for the villagers like the body of a slain thief.' At length a common soldier, though on the enemy's side, burnt the trunk out of a lingering sense of loyalty, while the head was cremated by the rulers of Rājapuri partly out of fear and partly out of gratitude felt by the brother of 'the wretched Khaśa prince' (VIII, 1457 ff.)

Kalhaṇa's mastery of pathos is well-illustrated by his short comment (VII, 66-69) on the utter extinction of the illustrious Śāhi dynasty of Udabhāṇḍapura following from the victories of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. Ascribing the event to fate which 'effects with ease what even in dreams appears incredible, what fancy fails to reach,' Kalhaṇa observes that the royal glory of the Śāhis has rapidly vanished down even to their very name so that one now asks himself whether with its kings, ministers and court the great Śāhi kingdom ever existed? The touching account (VII, 445 ff.) of the deaths of King Ananta and Queen Sūryamatī is filled with the quality of high pathos. When Ananta was driven to commit suicide by the base ingratitude of his unworthy son and the reproaches of his queen, it could be said of him that he had at last found rest and peace with all (cf. VII, 454 'He bore after death no grudge against anyone, nor did anyone bear a

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grudge against him. Death made this king of proud spirit happy and serene.') The Queen, having made all her followers take a solemn oath for the safety of her grandson to whom she bade a tender farewell, followed her husband on a separate litter. 'When the people saw these two going forth, the horizon was rent, as it were, by their tumultuous lamentations which mixed with the vibrating sounds of the funeral music'. An infinite touch of pathos is lent to the picture of her last moments by the mention of her eager, though vain, solicitude to see her recreant son, her devoutly sipping the water of the sacred Vitastā to ensure final deliverance, her solemn curse against those who 'have caused the fatal enmity between us two and our son, and lastly by her solemn oath testifying to the purity of her moral character. When she leapt with a bright smile from the litter into the flaming fire, 'the sky became reddened with sheets of flames, just as if the gods, in order to celebrate her arrival, had covered it with minium'. Three male attendants and as many female servants showed their supreme devotion by following their unfortunate mistress to death.

Kalhaṇa reaches his height of pathos in his circumstantial narrative (VII, 1386 ff.) of the last days of king Harṣa, which, we have good reason to believe, is based on first-hand sources. The 'long and astonishing' story of this king as Kalhaṇa himself says in this connection, is comparable to that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. As the king found himself surrounded by his enemies, his resolution, wisdom and judgment deserted him. He rejected the wise advice of his ministers to retire to the family stronghold of Lohara and in default to seek his own death for avoiding disgrace at the hands of his enemies. While his fortunes were sinking to their lowest ebb, he committed the dastardly crime of killing Malla, father of the brothers Uccala and Sussala, who was living the life of an ascetic at the capital. Malla's devoted wife followed her husband on the burning pyre uttering a terrible curse against the doomed king (VIII, 1494). At the beginning of the fight with Sussala a brave officer having 'proudly in battle washed off his insult with the streams of blood flowing from the sword-blades', the king was greatly moved at his failure to recognise the true character of that grateful man (VIII, 1535). When Uccala's forces poured into the capital, Harṣa's dearly beloved son Bhoja left with a few followers amid the king's tears, while the Śāhi Princesses and other Queens burnt themselves in the palace which was plundered by the enemy's troops and the citizens. Deserted by his troops and ministers, the king fled from the capital 'with his property

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consisting of a single garment, with his bare life and with the single Prayāga' as his follower' (VIII, 1622). Drenched with rain, he took refuge in the miserable hut of a wretched mendicant where he stood on the muddy bare ground and passed a terrible night (VIII, 1645). As he thought of each of his misfortunes ('My kingdom is lost, my wives are burned, my son has disappeared, I am alone without friends and provisions, rolling about in the courtyard of a beggar' (VIII, 1648), he could not find even in stories his peer in misfortune. The cup of his misery was filled when he heard the news of Prince Bhoja's murder. When under pangs of hunger he made up his mind to take food, he found his hut surrounded by the enemy's soldiers to whom he had been betrayed. With his faithful follower he was killed after a brave resistance, with the Lord Śiva's name on his lips. The awful tragedy of the king's end is summed up by the chronicler in words of inexpressible pathos, 'Sovereign as he was, he found a death which was fit for a thief,' and again 'No other king has been seen in this epoch as powerful as he was, nor of any other king so shameful a funeral.' But the tragedy was not yet over. Amid dreadful portents duly noted by the pious chronicler (cf. VII, 1722: 'when the head of the king was cut off, the earth together with the oceans shook, and the sky, though cloudless, sent down heavy rain'), the king's head was cut off by impious people who took it just as if it were that of a robber to his opponent. The body of so great a sovereign, laments the chronicler, could not be burnt without Uccala's orders as if it had been that of a robber. Eventually it was burned 'naked like a pauper' by a certain wood-dealer. 'Amid the numerous ladies of his court', concludes the chronicler, 'not one bewailed him, amid so many of his followers not one followed him into death or settled at a sacred place as an ascetic'. (In a later passage VIII, 13 however Kalhaṇa singles out the singer Kanaka who 'gave up his life at Vārāṇasī in weariness of the world' as 'the only one among Harṣa's servants who displayed gratitude').

(*To be continued*)

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Shuja-ud-daula as a Diplomat (1754-65)

Born on the 19th January, 1732, Mirza Jalaluddin Haider was the only son of Safdar Jang, the Nawab of Oudh and Allahabad. He was appointed to the post of Mir Atish when he was a young man of just over sixteen years, with the title of Shuja-ud-daula Bahadur.[1] His father was the Wazir from 1748-53, and on two occasions, during his father's absence from Delhi on campaign, he was appointed Deputy-Wazir, with powers to carry on the duties of the Wazir.[2] On his father's death, on the 5th October, 1754, he succeeded to the jagirs of Oudh and Allahabad, although the Emperor recognised his possession of Oudh only, and granted Allahabad to the Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk.[3]

Shuja-ud-daula Bahadur was fitted, both by temperament and training, to be an excellent diplomat. He was a prototype of Metternich and had no moral qualms about crime in politics. He had also inherited his father's inordinate ambition. He had lived at Delhi from the age of twelve and was, therefore, very familiar with the intrigues and conspiracies of the Imperial Court. His father was the head of the Irani party as against the Turani party. As the Mir Atish and Deputy-Wazir, he took an active part in counteracting the intrigues of the Turani leader, Intizam-ud-daula, and of the Court party led by the Queen-Mother, Udham Bai. Finally, the betrayal of Safdar Jang by Imad-ul-Mulk, which forced him and his son to retire from Delhi, made Shuja extremely suspicious of his friends.[4]

The situation in Hindustan in 1754 was extremely favourable for the young Nawab of Oudh. The government at Delhi was in a precarious state. The Wazir, Intizam-ud-daula and the Mir Bakshi, Imad-ul-Mulk, were suspicious of each other; the Treasury was empty; there was lawlessness in the capital, due to discontent in the army for arrears of pay; the Marathas had become the masters of the situation and had installed Imad-ul-Mulk, as Wazir, and Alamgir II, as Emperor. The new Wazir's Badakshi troops had become too arrogant and had been forcibly disbanded.

1 *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkharin*, III, p. 883; Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi (Br. Mus. Ms.) f 15b.

2 Srivastava, A. L.—*Shuja-ul-daula*, vol. I, pp. 7-8. (In 1750 and 1751-52)

3 *Siyar*, III, pp. 894-95.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 893; Ahmad Shahi, f 81b-85a. (In November, 1753)

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The Wazir was now at the mercy of Najib Khan, a Rohilla Resaladar of Najibgur, whom he had rewarded with a jagir in Saharanpur in the upper Doab. Surajmal, the Jat Raja of Bharatpur, had crossed over the Jumna and taken possession of a part of the middle Doab. The Punjab had come under the possession of the Afghan king, Ahmad Shah Abdali. The states of Rohilkhand and Farrukhabad had severed their connection with Delhi politics. Bengal was leading an isolated existence, under Ali Vardi Khan.[5]

Such were the circumstances when Shuja-ud-daula started his intrigues at Delhi to secure the Wizarat for himself. The Wazir Imad was not unware of this fact either. He planned to checkmate Shuja's designs. He issued an Imperial letter patent to Ahmad Khan Bangash, the Nawab of Farrukhabad, transferring the possession of Allahabad to him and started for Allahabad to enforce the royal edict.[6] Shuja advanced with his army to attack the Bangash state before the arrival of Imad. But the chiefs of the Rohilkhand state marched up to the assistance of the Bangash Nawab. Shuja, therefore, turned to the Jat Raja for help, but met with no immediate response. Luckily for him, however, the advance of Ahmad Shah Abdali towards Hindustan led to a peace between the two parties, brought about by Najib Khan on the basis of the *status quo*.[7]

Inspite of the occupation of Delhi by the Abdali monarch, in January, 1757, Shuja carefully avoided associating himself with the Afghan invader, and did not send his *Nazar* to him.[8] He thought the Afghan would go back like Nadir Shah and cease to play any part in the future politics of Hindustan, while the Marathas were sure to come back again. In fact, he was convinced that he could not establish himself at Delhi without the aid of the Marathas. He opened negotiations with the Marathas for entering into a defensive and offensive allance with them, by a clearly defined treaty.[9] Hence Ahmad Shah Abdali decided to punish him and sent out a small force under Jang Baz Khan, with two of the Delhi princes and Imad-ul-Mulk. These troops were to be re-inforced on the way by the forces of the Bangash Nawab and the chiefs of Rohilkhand, who had already submitted to the Afghan king. But the sudden dpeparture of the Abdali

5 Tarikh-i-Alamgir-i-Sani (Br. Mus. Ms.), ff 52a-58b.
6 *Ibid.*, f 79b.
7 *Ibid.*, f 83a.
8 *Ibid.*, ff 106, 109a; Irvine. W.—*Indian Antiquary*, 1907, pp. 64-65.
9 Srivastava, *Shuja-ud-daula*, I, p. 41.

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for home, due to illness in his camp at Mahavan, the unwillingness of the Rohillas to be a party to the destruction of Shuja, and the Maratha invasion of Hindustan under Raghunath Rao, brought about by Shuja's promise to cede Benares and Faizabad to them, forced the invading party to break up.[10]

Directly his purpose was served, Shuja was unwilling to make good his promise to the Marathas, on the plea that no active part had been taken by the Marathas in his defence. But he did not want to antagonise the Marathas by an open refusal. So he merely shifted himself from the scene of action and awaited patiently in his own capital the issue of the contest between Najib Khan, the Abdali's representative, who was now the master of Delhi, and Imad-ul-Mulk, who had enlised the support of the invading Maratha army and the Bangash Nawab.[11] But no decisive action took place. A peace was brought about between the two parties by Malhar Rao Holkar, who was Najib's friend and was at that time present in the Maratha camp. Najib bowed down before the inevitable and retired to his own jagir, leaving Delhi to Imad and the post of Mir Bakshi to Ahmad Khan Bangash.[12]

On the return of the Marathas to the Deccan (1758), Najib was again up and doing. He gave asylum to Prince Ali Gauhar and wrote to Shuja and the chiefs of Rohilkhand to come up and cooperate with him and Prince Ali Gauhar, for releasing Alamgir II from the tyranny of Imad-ul-Mulk.[13] But Shuja was not prepared to be a party to Najib's plan and quickly formed a plan of his own. Muhammad Quli Khan, his cousin and Deputy-Governor of Allahabad, was recognised at Delhi as the Governor of Allahabad. So he thought that a campaign against Behar and Bengal by Md. Quli Khan and Prince Ali Gauhar would prove to his own advantage; for, if the enterprise succeeded in its initial stage, he could quickly come up and join in the final victory, to share the spoils, and, if it failed he would be able to take direct charge of Allahabad in the absence of Md. Quli Khan.

10 Alamgir-i-Sani, ff 122b-123b, 127b, Irvine—*I.A.*, pp. 68-69, *Gulistan-i-Rahmat* (I.O. Ms.) ff 73a-74b; Tarik-i-Faiz Baksh (I.O. Ms.) ff 44a-45a; Sarkar, J. N.—*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. II, pp. 231-32—Translation of the Peshwa's letter, dated 23 February, 1759.

11 Alamgir-i-Sani, ff 130a-135b; Nuruddin—Najib-ud-laula (Mr. Mus Ms.) ff 16a-17a.

12 Alamgir-i-Sani, ff 132b-139a; Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, II, foot-note, pp. 151-52.

13 Alamgir-i-Sani, ff 164a-165b; Nuruddin, ff 19b-21b.

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Accordingly, he prevailed upon Md. Quli Khan to invite Prince Ali Gauhar and promise to secure for him a new state in Bengal. He himself wrote to the Prince offering his own support to the proposed enterprise.[14]

The proposal seemed quite feasible; for the able Ali Vardi Khan had died and his successor, Siraj-ud-daula, had been defeated and killed by the forces of the East India Company, who had put up Mir Jafar as a puppet Nawab. Besides the country was seething with discontent, for the new Nawab had played false to Siraj-ud-daula, their popular ruler, on the battle-field of Plassey, in favour of the foreigners. Prince Ali Gauhar started for Oudh. Shuja waited on him twelve miles outside his own capital with a lakh of rupees and many costly presents.[15] He then requested the Prince to join Md. Quli Khan at Allahabad and start operations against Patna, promising to come up himself immediately after completing his preparations. Ali Gauhar marched towards Behar with Md. Quli Khan, but failed to carry Patna, and, on the arrival of the British forces from Calcutta, had to seek safety in flight.[16] Shuja now took possession of Allahabad and had Md. Quli Khan imprisoned.[17]

Shuja was, however, faced with a delicate problem soon after. The Marathas, under Dattaji Sindhia and Jankoji Sindhia, came up to Hindustan. They had come with definite instructions from the Peshwa. Najib Khan was to be destroyed; Shuja was to be offered the Wizarat, if he agreed to surrender Allahabad and pay fifty lakhs of rupees in cash; if the offer of Wizarat was refused by Shuja he was to be attacked with the help of the Wazir, and if he then sued for peace, he was to cede Allahabad and Benares and pay a heavy Nazar in return for the post of Mir Bakshi; and if the Wazir refused to march against Shuja, the latter was to be offered half of the tribute to be realised from Bengal and Behar, for his active cooperation in the expedition and the surrender of Allahabad and Benares.[18] Shuja was very anxious to become the Wazir, but he was still more anxious

14 *Siyar*, II, pp. 656, 658; Srivastava, *Shuja*, I, pp. 58-59—He has slightly misunderstood Shuja's move and has judged it on its result. Select Committee Proceedings, 1751, Letter-Watts, dated 23 May, tells us that Shuja was negotiating with Siraj-ud-daula to settle terms for his help against the 'English'.

15 Alamgir-i-Sani, f 198b; *Siyar*, III, p. 906. (January, 1759).

16 *Sayir*, II, pp. 663-69, 674; Forrest—*Clive*, vol. II, pp. 128-37. (April, 1759).

17 *Siyar*, II, pp. 669, 671-73; Srivastva—*Shuja*, I, pp. 67-71.

18 Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, II, pp. 232-33—Trans. of Peshwa's letter, dated 21 March, 1759.

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not to surrender his lucrative possessions which were demanded by the Marathas. Hence he decided to follow a policy, which might force the Marathas to withdraw their demands and come to a settlement with him. And the situation was not unfavourable for him either. The Marathas could not turn their attention towards him without first settling their account with Najib Khan. Najib could always count upon the help of the Rohillas in self-defence. Hence Shuja's help to Najib would create a combination strong enough to foil Maratha designs in Hindustan—a factor which might very well force the Marathas to offer better terms to Shuja. Shuja, therefore, refused to accept the Wizarat on the terms offered by the Marathas, and when the Maratha forces besieged Najib Khan at Sakartal, he speedily marched up, with a large army, to help Najib, who had already been re-inforced by the Rohillas.[19]

It was at this time that the news of the Abdali's rapid march into Hindustan reached Sakartal. The Afghan king had received frantic appeals for help from Najib and was not prepared to see his agent in India destroyed. There was consternation in the Maratha camp, and their leaders were prepared to go back home, if only they could save their face by realising some indemnity from Najib.[20] Imad, in despair, had Alamgir II murdered at Delhi.[21] Even Shuja was in a dilemma. He could not stay there till the arrival of the Abdali monarch, whom he had antagonised during his last visit to India. He could not be sure of Najib's attitude towards him now, for he had been consistently selfish and unfriendly towards him in the past. Nor could he run away to his own state and thus part with the Najib as bad friends, for he could see which way the wind was blowing now. He, therefore, offered to be a peace-maker between Najib and the Marathas.[22] His idea was to placate the Marathas for the future and please Najib Khan as well. He felt confident that if only the Marathas could go back home safe, they were sure to come back again and reward his services. And as for the Afghan king, he thought he could easily get round him by giving a suitable *Nazar*, so long as Najib was not in the way. The Marathas jumped at Shuja's offer, and demanded twentyfive lakhs of

19 Alamgir-i-Sani, f 210a; Nuruddin, ff 25b-26b; Gulistan, f 78b; Faiz Baksh, ff 46b-47a; Srivastava—*Shuja*, I, pp. 78-79. He has not given the real reason for Shuja's support to Najib. (November, 1759).

20 Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, II, p. 212.

21 Alamgir-i-Sani, ff 214a-215a.

22 Srivastava, *Shuja*, I, p. 81.

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rupees as indemnity from Najib. But Shuja was outwitted by Najib's superior diplomatic skill. It was to Najib's interest to see that the Marathas were destroyed and that the Maratha menace was removed once for all. And this was his life's chance, for the Abdali monarch could not be expected to come to his rescue, every now and then, from such a long distance. Yet before his patron was actually there to save him, he could not antagonise Shuja. So he showed his willingness about coming to terms with the Marathas, but began to play for time, by carrying on negotiations about the amount of indemnity, till the near approach of the Afghan king forced the Marathas to raise the siege and march northwards to meet the invader.[23] Shuja left for home to watch the development of events, from a safe distance.[24] Whatever happened, he would at least be able to know the exact intention of the victors and act accordingly.

The Marathas were defeated at the battle of Bargarighat and fled away.[25] Ahmad Shah Abdali now marched to subdue the Jat kingdom. But soon the Marathas came up again, under Sadashiv Rao Bhau, to avenge Bararighat. They endeavoured to secure the support, or at any rate the neutrality, of Shuja in the coming struggle.[26] Shuja knew very well that the Marathas were determined upon securing Benares and Allahabad, and that an Abdali victory would rid Hindustan from the constant Maratha menace and leave the control of Delhi in the hands of his Indo-Muslim supporters. Yet he dared not join the Abdali camp, because he was apprehensive of his own safety there. The Abdali might not have forgotten his defeat at the hands of Safdar Jang (1748) and Shuja's conduct during his last visit to India. Hence Shuja wanted to remain neutral, till he was able to find out exactly where he stood in the eyes of the two parties. He informed the Marathas that he would join them if they agreed to give him the Wizarat and recognize Ali Gauhar as Emperor. At the same time he must have informed Najib Khan that he could not make a common cause with the Muslim party unless the Abdali monarch assured him of his

23 Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, II, pp. 215-16.

24 *Siyar*, II, p. 907; Nuruddin, f 292; Srivastava *Shuja*, I, p. 82—He says Shuja went home because of a local Rajput rebellion in Oudh, which was evidently the plea put forward by Shuja, because Shuja knew that he had loyal servants in Oudh to protect his territories, as was done in 1760 when the Marathas invaded Oudh in his absence.

25 Nuruddin, f 29a; Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, vol. II, p. 219. (9 January, 1760).

26 Srivastava—*Shuja-ud-daula*, vol. I, p. 85.

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personal safety and agreed to concede to him the above-mentioned advantages. Because, directly the Marathas accepted Shuja's terms, Najib came in person to Shuja and gave him a signed safe conduct and the robe of investiture as Imperial Wazir from Ahmad Shah Abali.[27] Shuja's purpose was served. So, he joined the Abdali camp at Anupshahar with seven thousand horsemen and a devoted Gosain corps.[28]

Soon after the arrival of Shuja, however, there was scarcity of food in the Abdali camp. [29] The Doab was in a devasted state. Provisions had to be transported at a heavy cost from distant places. Ten lakhs of rupees forwarded by Najib had already been exhausted. The chiefs of Rohilkhand and the Bangash Nawab pleaded poverty when asked for money. Hence Ahmad Shah Abdali turned to Shuja for contribution.[30] Shuja was furious, for he was not prepared to finance an undertaking, the issue of which was still uncertain. In fact, when he joined the Afghan king, he was banking upon his wealth to buy off the Marathas, should his adventure happen to miscarry. He, therefore, offered to be a peace-maker on the condition that he should be made the Wazir, Shah Alam should be recognized as the Emperor, and the Afghans and the Marathas should go back renouncing all claims in Hindustan.[31]

Shuja's offer was accepted by the Shah. Even Bhau encouraged Shuja in his negotiations for peace, still hoping to win him over to his side. But this conduct of the Maratha leader annoyed his friends, Imad and the Jat Raja, whose interests clashed with that of Shuja, and they left in chagrin the Maratha camp at Delhi.[32] Bhau now tried to starve the Abdali to surrender. He marched up and captured Kanjpura which was a depot for

27 Nuruddin, f 32b—Signed safe conduct and the robe of Wazir was sent to Shuja after Najib's arrival in Shuja's camp, by Armad Shah Abdali.

Srivastava—*Shuja-ud-daula*, I, pp. 86-94. His idea that Shuja looked upon Najib as his rival and not the Marathas, and that he joined the Abdali, not being alarmed at the Maratha policy of "enslavement", contradicts his previous statement (p. 78), that Shuja joined Najib at Sakrtal because the Maratha policy was "nothing short of an unquestioned supremacy over the whole of northern India".

28 Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, II, pp. 278-79. 29 Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, vol. II, p. 280.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 281.

31 Ibid., p. 255—Shah Alam was the title of Ali Gauhar; Srivastva—*Shuja-ud-daula*, I, pp. 97-98.

32 Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, II, p. 255; Srivastava—*Shukja-ud-daula*, I, pp. 97-98—He says that negotiations broke down because of differences between the Marathas and the 'Indian Pahans'.

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the provisions of the Afghans from Sirhind.[33] This forced the hands of Abdali monarch, who crossed over the Jumna to fight the Marathas. Eventually, both the parties encamped at Panipat, waiting to be reinforced by fresh troops (1st Nov.). But the Afghan army of five thousand from Qandahar reached Panipat first and was able to destroy the Maratha reforcement on its way under Govind Ballav Pant (17th Dec.)[34]

Bhau now appealed to Shuja to arrange a peace at any price. Shuja managed to win over the Wazir of the Abdali king, but Najib was not going to let slip the chance of his life and carried his point in the Abdali's council chamber.[35] The result was the fatal battle of Panipat (14th Jan., 1761), in which the Marathas were completely routed, the only important person who managed to escape safely being Malhar Rao Holkar, through the connivance of Najib. Shuja remained inactive on the battle-field despite repeated requests by the Abdali Wazir to take part in the contest, on the pretext of guarding his own post, which was not, however, actually attacked by the Marathas.[36]

Shuja's dubious conduct and selfishness made the Abdali lose faith in him. And since the invader's main interest in Hindustan was the realisation of a regular tribute, he gave the Wizarat to Imad and the Mir Bakhshiship to Najib.[37] Shuja returned home disappointed.

Meanwhile, the Emperor Shah Alam had been defeated by the English in his attempt to capture Behar and was living under their protection at Patna.[38] Shuja now planned to secure control over the Emperor. He marched towards Patna and wrote to the Emperor, saying he was coming up to conduct him to Delhi. The Emperor had by now given up all hopes of the English ever fulfilling their promise regarding conducting him to Delhi. So he agreed to go with Shuja. The English, apprehensive of an attack by Shuja, on the pretext of coming to conduct the Emperor back, agreed to release the Emperor.[39] Shah Alam joined Shuja's camp on the borders of Behar in the middle of June, 1761. But Shuja did not keep his

33 Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, II, pp. 267-71.

34 Nuruddin, ff. 45b-46b; Gulistan. ff. 86a-86b. 35 Nuruddin, ff. 43b-45b.

36 *Ibid.*, ff 46b-52b; Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, II, pp. 319-54; Sarivastava—*Shuja*, I, pp. 103-4—His arguments to justify Shuja's conduct is not at all convincing.

37 Nuruddin, f. 56a; Sarkar—*F.M.E.*, II. pp. 378-80; Srivastava—*Shuja*, I, pp. 111-2.

38 Sel. Com. Pro., 17 Feb., 1761. 39 Sel. Com. Pro., 20 May, 1761.

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promise to the Emperor. After occupying the Maratha jagirs in Kora and Karra, he embarked on a campaign in Bundelkhand with the Emperor, and failing to achieve the desired result, came back home.[40]

Ahmad Shah Abdali came to India again to chastise the Sikhs. He also tried to solve the problem of the Empire and met the representatives of the different states (Oct., 1762).[41] Since Najib and Imad had failed to co-operate with each other, as was intended by the Shah, he conferred the Wizarat on Shuja, with instructions to install the Emperor Shah Alam at Delhi.

Shuja, accordingly, marched up with the Emperor from Allahabad and was joined by the chiefs of Rohilkhand. But the Bangash Nawab paid no heed to the Imperial summons. So Shuja wanted to capture the Bangash territories on behalf of the Emperor. This the chiefs of Rohilkhand refused to agree to, and finally the illness of Najib, who had joined the Imperial camp at Sekanderabad, and a clash between the Shia Oudh troops and the Sunni Najib-Rohillas, led to the dispersal of the royal party (May, 1763).[42] Shuja returned to his own state with the Emperor.

The enterprising Shuja however, found fresh opportunity for himself in Bengal. Qasim Ali, who had been put on the *masnad* of Murshidabad to the exclusion of Mir Jafar by the East India Company, could not stand the domination of his patrons and rebelled against them. He was defeated and fled away with a fairly large army and immense wealth and appealed to Shuja for help. He also sent a present of twenty-seven lakhs of rupees for the Emperor and the Wazir.[43] But Shuja had again fromed a plan of his own. So he promised help to Qasim Ali, and, at the same time wrote to the English offering his services against Qasim Ali. He even asked the newly re-instated old Nawab, Mir Jafar, to send him a formal invitation for help against Qasim Ali.[44] His object was to capture Qasim Ali on his arrival in Oudh, and appropriate his wealth as arrears of tribute due to the Emperor from the English, and also to secure the cession of Behar as a price

40 Sel Com. Pro., 19 April & 26 June, 1762—Letters F. Wendel & Papers of Intelligence.

41 Nuruddin, ff 56b-17b.

42 Ain-i-Alam Shahi, I (India Office Ms.), ff. 217a-225b; Nuruddin, ff 57b-60a; *Imad-us-Saadat* (Lucknow Edition), pp. 88-91.

43 Ain-i-Alam Shahi, I, ff 226a-233a; Faiz Baksh, f 67b.

44 Srivastava, *Shuja*, I, pp. 164-68, 174-75.

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for his services against Qasim Ali. But the English did not entertain Shuja's offer. So Shuja came to an agreement with Qasim Ali, according to which he agreed to reinstate Qasim Ali in Bengal in return for the cession of Behar to him and the payment of three crores of rupees at the conclusion of the campaign. Besides he was to pay the cost of the campaign at the rate of eleven lakhs of rupees per month, so long as Shuja was on active service in Behar and Bengal.[45]

The Bengal expedition, however, inspite of Shuja's careful preparations, proved disastrous for him. He failed to carry Patna by assault and was finally surprised by the English forces under Munro at Baksar (22nd Oct., 1764).[46] The Emperor, who had been previously won over secretly, went over to the victors and was received by them with due honour[47] He removed Shuja from the Wizarat and gave the post to his own son, Mirza Akbar Shah. Shuja's state was now overrun by the English, on behalf of the Emperor, and he had to run away to Rohilkhand (Feb., 1765).[48] His only gain from the enterprise was the wealth of which he had robbed Qasim Ali, by treacherously arresting him while on campaign.[49]

But all the wealth and entreaties of Shuja failed to secure for him the support of the Bangash Nawab and of the Chiefs of Rohilkhand against the English.[50] In desperation he hired a contingent of the Maratha troops, under Malhar Rao Holkar, which was then in Hindustan and gave battle to the English at Kora (May, 1765)[51] He was again defeated and took refuge at Farrukhabad.

Shuja now decided to throw himself upon the generosity of the English.[52] And luckily for him, Lord Clive, who had just taken over charge of the government at Calcutta, was in favour of establishing a friendly state on the borders of the English possessions as a barrier, as against his predecessor's policy of supporting the Emperor in those parts.[53]

45 *Siyar*, II, p. 746.
46 Sel. Com. Pro., Nov., 1764; *Siyar*, II, p. 702.
47 Calendar of Persian Correspondence, II, No. 1044; Gulistan, f 120b.
48 Secret Com. Pro., 6 Dec., 1764 & 7 Jan., 1765.
49 *Siyar*, II, pp. 754-56; Srivastava, I, pp. 214-18.
50 Faiz Baksh, ff 69a-70a; Gulistan, f 121b; Tawarikh-i-Afaghana (Br. Mu. Ms.). f 70a.
51 Sel Com. Pro., 29 April & 1st. June, 1765.
52 Sel Com. Pro., 11 June, 1765.
53 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. V, p. 175.

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He interviewed Clive at Benares and the result was the treaty of Allahabad (16th Aug., 1765).[54] Shuja was given back all his dominions, with the exception of Kora and Allahabad, which were given to the Emperor as "a royal demense for the support of his dignity and expenses." The East India Company was paid fifty lakhs of rupees by Shuja on accout of the expenses of the recent war. And the two parties bound themselves in an alliance of mutual armed support.

Such was the inglorious end of the first round of Shuja-ud-daula's diplomatic career. His constant aim had been to win back the Wizarat, which his father had once enjoyed. But he was outwitted in this by the superior diplomatic skill of Najib-ud-daula, who ultimately became the Dictator of Delhi. All Shuja gained, after an arduous toil, was the empty honour of being the Wazir of an Emperor living in exile. He, therefore, tried to use the Emperor, then under his clutches, for self-aggrandisement. After an abortive attempt in Bundelkhand, he tried to fish in the troubled waters of Bengal. He robbed Qasim Ali Khan of his accumulated wealth, but met in the English more than his match. He lost his entire kingdom and was a fugitive in Farrukhabad. But the goddess of fortune smiled on him. The newly arrived Governor of the government at Calcutta reversed his predecessor's policy, and turned Oudh into a loyal buffer-state under the rule of the ex-Nawab. Shuja, however, lost his Wizarat and, what was worse still, his freedom of action in future.

A. F. M. Khalilur Rahman

54 Sel. Com. Pro., 7 Sept., 1765. True translation of the text of the Treaty

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MISCELLANY

Lassen on
Fictitious and Apocryphal Reports concerning India*

The reports of the 'fictitious' kind are contained in the Epopees in which the campaign of Dionysos to India is chanted; those of the 'apocryphal' kind on the contrary in the fabulous history of Alexander the Great, which is erroneously attributed to Kallisthenes, his companion in arms, and on the origin and gradual development whereof already on another occasion the necessary mention has been made.[1] As far as the legend about the Asiatic campaigns of Dionysos is concerned, it is to be noted that according to previous researches thereon, its beginnings can be connected with Indian localities and circumstances pointed out by the historians of Alexander the Great, but that Megasthenes must be considered as the introducer of *Dionysos* into Indian history.[2] I have also shown from another treatise, which also belongs to the written monuments of classical antiquity namely, from the biography of Apollonios of Tyana by Philostratos that it contains no communications on Indian matters that can be used.[3]

In Greek poetry afterwards the Dionysian legendary circle gained preeminence and obtained contemporaneously with the Alexander legend poetical treatment; of those poems only one has reached posterity, namely the Διονυσιακα of Nonnos from *Panopolis* in Upper Egypt, who had in the fifth century sung the campaigns of *Dionysos* in forty-eight cantos. It is true Nonnos had introduced a reform into epic metrics, and has distinguished himself by great perfection in the construction of his verses, but he has by the frequent use of rare words and by his hankering after bold phantastic images and illogical metaphors sinned against good taste, and displays to us the decay of Hellenic poetry, as well as the deterioration of the creative spirit.[4] The style of Nonnos suffers chiefly on account of prolixity and insertion of many episodes, which hinder the progress of the

* Translated with notes from the original German of Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* (1858).

1 *Indische Alterthumskunde*, II. p. 734 f. and II, p. 355 and 370 f.

2 *Ibid.*, II. p. 720 f.

3 *Ibid.*, II. p. 351 f.

4 Bernhardy's *Outline of Greek Literature* II, p. 239 f. and on the time of *Dionysos Periegetes*, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

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narrative. He imitates an older poet *Dionysos* who must have lived earlier than the Perieget of the same name, i.e. before 300, and had given to his *Epos* which consists of four books the title of βασσαρικα. From a number of passages quoted from his poems by the Byzantine *Stephanos*[5] we learn that Dionysos caused several old Indian nations known from Alexander's history or from elsewhere to fight with the Greek god; only the *Eares* cannot be pointed out from other classical writings. If it be permitted with the imperfect knowledge we possess of this portion of Greek literature, to judge on the subject, Dionysos was the first who had enriched the Indian campaign of Dionysos with these victories over separate Indian nations. He has also, as far as we are aware, been the first who has represented *Deriades* as the supreme king of the Indians, in which representation he has been followed by Nonnos. From the only one long passage still existing in *Stephanos,* the worthlessness of his information about India plainly appears. In the same manner as the lion is distinguished by his courage among the animals inhabiting the mountains, the dolphins by their leapings among the animals of the ocean, the eagles by their high flight among the birds and the horses by their swiftness among the animals of the plain, so the inhabitants of Kashmira are said to have been distinguished by the swiftness of their legs among the other inhabitants of India. In Indian writings we find no mention at all of such an accomplishment among the inhabitants of the beautiful Alpine valley. Accordingly there is no doubt that the Greek poet has quite arbitrarily attributed that characteristic to the Kashmirians.

If Nonnos to whose Epos I now turn, caused Dionysos in his battles with the Indians to perform more acts than in the other eastern countries, it is not difficult to discover his motive. India appeared to his countrymen on account of its great distance and its costly and astonishing products to be a country of marvels, and excited therefore in Nonnos the wish to cause his poetical talents to appear in the most favourable light in his representation of the campaigns of the Hellenic god.

As it can be indisputably demonstrated, that in the composition of his Epos, Nonnos had no Indian traditions before his eyes, and has merely and

5 *Stephanos Byz* and the word Γαζος; Γανδοι who are by other authors more correctly called Γανδαροι; Δαρσανια which town is nowhere else mentioned; Ξαρες; κασπειρος; μαλλο; πανδαι; Υδαρκαι who are otherwise correctly named γδρακαν; ; s. above I. p. 800.

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mostly used on that occasion his own fictions borrowed from Greek mythology, I consider myself justified in recording his information on the exploits of Dionysos in India, only with the greatest brevity.

To begin with· Δηριάδης the name of the supreme king of India, it is not an indigenous but a Greek name derived from δῆρις force, competition. Therefore it means the sovereign of the Indians fighting for preference with the Hellenic god. That Deriades is a creature of the Greek poet is superabundantly confirmed by the statement that he was a son of the river-god *Hydaspes* and of the nymph *Astris*, who was the daughter of the sun-god, and of the Nayade *Keto*.[6] In concert herewith, to the Indians an origin modelled according to Greek ideas is attributed, namely from a giant *Indos*, whom *Zeus* had in his fight with his father *Kronos* prostrated to the ground.[7]

In the first twelve cantos of his Epos, Nonnos takes no notice of India; only in the thirteenth, he causes *Zeus* to send *Iris* to *Dionysos* with the injunction that the latter should compel the unhappy Indians to drink wine, to hold orgies during the night in the Greek manner, and to send them from India.[8] In obedience to this command Dionysos marched with an army of satyrs together with Pan against the Indian *Astracis* whose name, as may be easily seen, Nonnos has formed from the Greek ἀστηρ star. Dionysos vanquished him on the bank of the lake *Astakis*, after his victory he transmuted its water into wine, the drinking whereof intoxicates the Indians. It would be a fruitless attempt to search for the name of this lake in other writings, because Nonnos invented it from the name of the Indian people of the *Astakans* who dwelt between the Indus and the Kophen.[9] To the country of this people Nonnos places the nymph *Nikaia* who lived surrounded by lions on the top of a mountain, was indescribably cruel, and was loved by Hymnos.[10] Dionysos fell in love with her and committed violence on her, whereon she committed suicide, and the god founded a town called after her name. The inducement of Nonnos to invent this narrative was, because Alexander the Great had after his victory over the Indian king *Poros* on the Hydaspes founded a town *Nikaia*.[11]

6 *Nonnos*, XXIII, 351 f. in Tr. Graef's Ed. II, p. 18 f.
7 *Nonnos*, XVII, 264 f. I. q. w. I. p. 401.
8 *Nonnos*, XIII, 7 f. I. q. w. I. p. 275 f.
9 See *Ind. Alt.*, II. p. 134.
10 XV, 1. f. I. q. w. I. p. 229 f. *Nikaia* is in XVI, 401 called an *Astakian* nymph.
11 See *Ind. Alt.*, II, p. 65.

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For the next exploit of Dionysos, Nonnos had a more ancient authority. *Astracis* sought and found aid from another leader of Deriades, with *Orontes*, who was the son of the river-god *Hydaspes* and the brother-in-law of the Indian monarch.[12] He marched with a great army against the Hellenic god till Lydia, where he was vanquished by the latter and committed suicide. According to a Syrian legend, an Indian warrior of the name of *Orontes* had fallen in battle, on the bank of the river of the same name, which is said to have been named after him. Afterwards the corpse of this hero which was eleven ells long, had been found in the river, and the oracle at Klaros having been asked on the subject, confirmed the genuineness of the corpse.[13] The name *Orontes* is not Indian but Persian, and was *Arvanda,* which name is to be explained from the root *Arvat*. This word means *running* and must therefore originally have designated a river, and can only later have been transferred also to mountains.[14] The river mentioned by the Parsees is probably the one flowing from the *Elwend* mountains near Hamadan, which must have been called after it, because the ancient *r* has also in other Persian words been transformed into *l*. According to *Firdūsī* the Arabs called the Tigris *Arvand*. As the Syrian river Orontes was originally called *Typhon*[15] the later name had probably been attributed to it during the Persian rule. Herefrom it is sufficiently clear, that the hero named after it, is in the legend erroneously called an Indian. Nonnos found the tale existing but had enlarged it in a manner peculiar to himself. After the defeat of Orontes, Dionysos decided to attack Deriades in his own country.[16] In the campaign he united with the Assyrians whose king Nonnos calls by a name of his own invention *Haphylos;* στάφυλη which as we know means the vine. In agreement herewith, his son was called *Botrys* i.e. grape. The ruler of the Indians expected the attack of the Hellenic god on the bank of the Hydaspes.[17] *Thyreus* i.e. the stormer was the commander-in-chief of the Indian army on the western bank of the river; on his return he was drowned in the waves of the river, whereon the victorious Hellenic god crossed the river. Arrived

12 *Nonnos* XVII, 97 f. I. q. w. I. p. 373 f. 13 *Pausanias* VII, 3, 1.

14 Burnouf's *Yaina* I. p. 248 f. and *Additions* p. clxxxi f. The name *Orontes* designates besides, the high Deawend-chain, South of the Caspian sea.

15 *Strabo* XV, 3, 12, p. 730. 16 *Strabo*, XVIII. 1f. I. q. w. I. p. 389 f.

17 *Nonnos*, XXIII, 1 f. I. q. w. I. p. 489 f

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at this point, Nonnos interrupts his narrative by unsuitable episodes, and takes it up again only in the beginning of the seventy-sixth canto.[18] Deriades again opposes a large army to the foreign god. Of the Indian nations and towns adduced by Nonnos on this occasion, only the very fewest may claim to be borrowed from reports on India. This remark holds good also of most of the names of the Generals of Deriades. Whilst the *Derdai*, the *Prasioi*, the *Sibai*, the *Bolingoi* and the *Kasperioi*, who respectively answer to the Indian *Darada*, *Prācya*, *Śibi*, *Bhauliṅgi* and *Kaśmīra* are known,[19] the *Zabioi*, the *Salangoi* and the *Sabeiroi* are not mentioned elsewhere as inhabitants of India.[20] His inaccuracy is excelled by Nonnos who makes the *Derbikkans* and the *Baktrians* allies of the Indian supreme king. The case is still worse with the Indian towns mentioned. Only one of them can be pointed out in other writings, namely *Pattalene* by which name here not the Indus-delta, but the *Pattala* situated therein must be meant. Already *Dionysos* had erroneously placed the town *Goros* in India.[21] Some of the other towns e.g. *Aithre* air-town, called the town of the sun-god, *Anthene* the flower-town, and *Melaina* the black-town bear unmistakably Hellenic names, and have therefore been invented by Nonnos or his predecessors. The same may be assumed of *Kyra* the mistress, and *Rodoe* perhaps the rose-town. If this is not the case with the other towns, they nevertheless belong to the unknown ones, and show, that Nonnos preferred unknown Indian towns to celebrated ones. Hereto the general remark may be added, that Nonnos incurs in his selection of geographical localities the charge of injudiciousness because leaving out the known Indian geographical names he prefers to use unknown ones; thus for instance, of the known Indian rivers he mentions only the *Indos*, the *Hydaspes* and the *Ganges*, but also the quite unknown *Ombelos*.[22] Lastly

18 *Nonnos*, XXVI, 1 f. I. q. w. II, p. 31 f.

19 On the less known *Bhauliṅgi* see above I. p. 613, Note 5 and III, p. 150.

20 Wilson suspects in his *Remarks on the Portion of the Dionysiacs of Nonnus, relating to the Indians* in *As. Res.* XVII, p. 676 that the *Sabeiroi* were the *Sauvīra* of the Indians; but as this nation is otherwise not mentioned by classical authors, this is dubious. On the position of the *Derbikkans* see above I. p. 860 Note 2.

21 *Stephanos of Byz.* and the word Ταξος. From the *Bassariaka* of *Dionysios* it appears that he had mentioned also *Rhodoe*.

22 *Nonnos*, XXII, 55, l. q. w. II. p. 53.

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as far as the names of the leaders are concerned, these also mostly show a Greek descent. This cannot be doubted in *Agraios* i.e. the wild one, *Phlogios* i.e, the flaming one, *Hippuros* i.e. horse-tail, *Lykos* i.e. wolf and *Glaukos* i.e. the bluish shining one. The name of the father of *Orontes, Didrosios,* can just as little be explained from the Greek as from the Indian language; on the contrary that of his second son *Morreus* is no doubt a formation from μορρ- by which name the material was named, from which the Murhinian vessel so much esteemed by the ancients was manufactured.[23] Only by two of the names now in question an Indian descent can be thought of; in *Phringos* namely the *Bhṛgu* celebrated already in Vedic hymns[24] and in *Danyklos* the name of the *Dânavas* the enemies of the gods, whose ancestor is called *Danu;* on the other hand it must be said that these two names had probably been mentioned by a classical author, and that in both some resemblance to Hellenic words exists, namely in the first to πληθος copiousness, plenty, in the second to δωρον gift. Of the other names pertaining hereto it suffices to remark, that even if they are not of Greek origin, they have nevertheless no claim to an Indian derivation.

As according to the previous remarks he had only negligently consulted the reports of the classic authors who had communicated heresay informations about India, and has preferred them to his own fictions and those of his predecessors, as it is further certain, and will afterwards be still more confirmed that he had no Indian traditions at all before his eyes, I consider it superfluous to rehearse this representation of the contest between Dionysos and Deriades with all its incidents, and I shall only give the chief points. After several calamities,[25] and after the Greek god had seen that the Indians were unconquerable by land, and could be vanquished only by sea, he

23 See *Ind. Alt.*, p. 47.

24 As Wilson has done l. q. w. p. 676. The other Indian geographical names are the following: names of mountains *Propamisos* an unusual form of the name *Paropanisos, Graikoi;* names of towns *Baidion* on the river *Ombelos*, Nesaia; Karmina. names of peoples: *Vato Koitai; Yuthoi; Arienoi, Zaioi, Ioioi, Arbies* on the river *Hysporos;* they ought to be the *Arabites* about whom see above II p. 187 f. *Dusaioi;* the islanders *Kirrai;* the *Dersaioi*, the inhabitants of *Areizanteia;* the inhabitants of *Hydrake* or the *Hydraikai* on whom see above I p. 800; the inhabitants of Eastern *Eukella* and of *Gorgandis*

25 *Nonnos*, XXVI. 1 f. I. q. w. II, p. 53 f.

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found it necessary to cause the Arab *Radamanes* to build a fleet.[26] In the battle which took place on the Hydaspes the Indian king was wounded by Dionysos, fell into the water and was drowned in it. Herewith the contest terminated. Then Dionysos victoriously returned to Asia Minor.[27] As Nonnos no more mentions India in the ensuing cantos, he does not cause Dionysos to found a durable power over India; nor does he mention any monuments left by the Hellenic god in the remotest country conquered by him. This however was done by other authors in epic poems glorifying the campaign of Dionysos to India. Tzetzes, who lived long after Nonnos, has preserved the report that Dionysos had undoubtedly erected columns in India, in memory of his victories over the Indians.[28] Another poet had mentioned the bulls of the *Orsqi* Indians, no doubt so called after the Greek god who also bears the epithet of *'ορσιjυναξ* because he put the female bacchantes into excitement.[29]

The information of Nonnos

The supposition that an affinity between the Epos of the Greek poet. and the ancient Indian heroic poem, the *Rāmāyaṇa,* can be pointed out, and that the Hellenic god is no other than the Indian *Rāma,* can be just as little demonstrated than another supposition according to which the narrative of Nonnos is said not to be different from that contained in the second ancient Indian Epos, namely the *Mahābhārata.*[30] Against this comparison firstly the difference of the causes, from which in the Alree epopees here in question, the chief action arises, militates. In the Dionysiacs it is the command of the highest Hellenic god to Dionysos, to subject the Indians to his worship; in the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is the elopment of the wife of the hero with the giant-king *Rāvaṇa;* in the *Mahābhārata* lastly, the strife between two royal families and their contest for the supreme power.

26 *Nonnos,* XXXIX, 1f. I. q w. II, q. w. II, p. 34 f.

27 *Nonnos,* XI, 275 f. I. q. w. II, p. 345 f.

28 See his *Chil.* VIII, p. 261, v. 212 f.

29 *Plinius* VIII, 31, 1, where he treats of the cattle-race. These Indians were black on their whole bodies, and hunted monkeys.

30 The first supposition has been broached by Sir William Jones in his dissertation: *On the gods of Greece, Italy and India,* in *As. Res.* I, p. 256 f.; the second by Wilford, in his *Essay on the Kings of Magadha, ibid.,* IX. p. 93 f. The untenableness of these suppositions has been shown by Wilson in the treatise mentioned on p. 448 note 3.

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Therefore only the general resemblance remains, that the whole chief action is crowned by a victorious success. The second ground is the inadmissibility of a comparison between the Greek god and the deified hero *Rāma* of the Indians, because the Greeks compare Dionysos with the Indian god *Śiva,* although an original relationship between both does not at all exist.[31]

If I have asserted above that Nonnos had no Indian traditions at all before his eyes in the composition of his poem, I support myself by the following arguments. It is true, it may be admitted that in Egypt, his native country, Nonnos might have had favourable opportunities, to draw from Indians sojourning there, information about their country and its state. From the history of commerce it has resulted, that many Indians lived in Egypt, and particularly in Alexandria, in order to trade there. In the examination whether Nonnos had really done this, it must not be overlooked, that the writings, the chief object whereof was India, have not come down to posterity in perfect state. Therefore Nonnos could from the complete copies before him, have taken the geographical names mentioned by him alone. From them he may also have drawn the information, that the army of Dionysos had in its passage across the Hydaspes besides other means also used skins fitted with air, as is still at present customary in the Five-stream-land.[32] The only statement in the Dionysiacs of Nonnos of which it may be assumed that he was indebted for it to his intercourse with the Indians, is, that a prince called *Habrathoos* subject to Deriades had been for a fault by his supreme lord punished with the cutting off of his hair which is considered by the Indians as a very ignominious punishment.[33] This statement agrees with the Indian legend that old king *Sāgara* granted at the intercession of *Vaśiṣṭha* life to the *Yavanas* but punished them by causing their head to be shaved.[34] Accordingly Nonnos had probably transferred this tradition to the *Dersaioi* invented by his predecessors; but as this coincidence stands here isolated, the Greek poet may have attributed this ignominious punishment to an Indian nation, also from his having read in some Greek book that it was among Indians considered

31 See *Ind. Alt.*, II, p. 790 f.

32 *Nonnos* XXIII, 147 f. I. q w. I. p. 495 and Wilson I. q. w. p. 615.

33 *Nonnos,* XXVI, 152 f. I, q.w. II, p. 38 and Wilson I, q.w. p. 616 According to the correct division in Graefe's ed. *Habrathoos* was not king of the *Dersaioi* but these had with the *Arachotes* the same kings *Giglon, Thuraeus* and *Hippalmos.*

34 See *Ind. Alt.*, I, I App. p. vii, Note ,3.

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ignominious to have bald heads. In my opinion it may be assumed in this case, that Nonnos had not followed Indian traditions but his own inspiration, because he had undoubtedly done so in other cases. Examples hereof are the following. He asserted firstly that the Indians burnt their corpses with tearless eyes, because the deceased had by death escaped the fetters of life, and the souls had returned to their original point of issue.[35] Although it may be correct that on account of the reason here adduced the Indians easily consoled themselves for the loss of their relatives and friends, it is incredible that a nation as easily excitable as the Indian, should not shed any tears at their funerals, and should so easily console themselves for the loss of their relatives and friends. Still more incredible is the second assertion of Nonnos, that the Indians were very skilled in maritime warfare and were to be dreaded more on the sea than on the land.[36] This assertion contradicts all other reports about India. Thirdly, the statements of Nonnos about the Indian deities contradict the supposition most, that he had obtained a knowledge of India from personal contact with some inhabitants of that country. According to one passage *Hetios*, the *Earth*, and the *holy water* were specially the gods of the Indians; according to another however they did not worship the sun-god, but only the *Earth* and the *Water*.[37] If it be yet added to the data, that Nonnos frequently represents the river *Hydaspes* as a god, we obtain a very unsatisfactory representation of the gods adored by the Indians at that time. According to Megasthenes the most reliable informant, the mountain-inhabiting Indians worshipped Dionysos or Śiva, the Indians of the plain on the other hand Herakles or Viṣṇu, especially in his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa, besides the Indians and especially the Brahmans worshipped Indra, Deva, and the Ganges.[38] The four gods who are according to the report of Nonnos said to have been the only ones adored by the Indians belong all to the inferior gods; among them only the sun-god is more prominent[39] but the earth and the waters not at all, because at the time when that Greek poet sang the Indian campaign of Dionysos, the Indian nations through whose domains the Hydaspes flows were by the inhabitants of India counted

35 *Nonnos*, XXXVII, 1 f. I. q. w. II. p. 247.
36 *Nonnos*, XXXVI, 464 f. I. q. w. II. p. 243.
37 *Nonnos* XVII, 284-285 I. q. w. I. p. 381 and XXI, 251 f. I. q. w. I p. 480 f.
38 See *Ind. Alt.*, II. p. 697 f. and p. 1107.
39 See *Ind. Alt.*, II. p. 777, p. 794 and p. 1120.

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among the despised groups and it might at the utmost be assumed that the nations of the Pentapotamy had paid worship to the river Hydaspes; this supposition must however also be rejecteed, because the glorification of the Hydaspes by Nonnos and the placing of the decisive battle between Dionysos and the supreme king of the Indians, Deriades, are merely based on the part that Alexander played on the bank of this river conquering the valiant Indian king *Poros,* and had on this river begun his navigation during which he had conquered the Indian countries not reached by him before. Alexander's Indian campaign had been the occasion that the authors of poetical compilations of the Dionysian legend-circle had invented tales about the Indus, the Hydaspes and the Ganges, contained in the small treatise erroneously attributed to Plutarchos.[40]

Before concluding the history of the Greek-Roman knowledge of India during the years from 57 B.C. to 319 A.C. it only remains to investigate, whether in the book erroneously put in circulation under the name of Kallisthenes, things are mentioned about India which are worth any mention or explanation. Here a sharp line of demarcation must be drawn in the book between the pieces belonging in the complete edition of this treatise to the history of Alexander the Great and between those contained in the small writing directed to *Palladios*. In the latter the communications drawn, by the author himself concerning the life and doctrine of the Brahmans, from books, as well as those for which he was indebted to Moses the bishop of Axum, are quite worthless. Only the data received by him from a Theban scholar, who had lived six years in Taprobane as a prisoner, and had at last learnt the language of the islanders, are partly worth noticing, although in them also fiction and truth are commingled.[41] Therefore I shall later return to them; on the other hand, the things narrated in the biography in question, concerning Alexander the Great, and concerning India, are to be rejected as pure fables or as absurd corruptions of the truth.[42] This appears clearly from the circumstance that the

40 See on these legends, above p. 299 where these legends are communicated and explained.

41 See *Ind. Alt.*, p. 335 and especially p. 370 f. The report of the Thebian concerning the Brahmans living near the Ganges has been communicated p. 372 f. and a portion of the information relating to Taprobane was likewise explained there.

42 They occur firstly III, i-vi p. 94-101, b, in C. Muller's edition; secondly III, 17 f. p. 120, 6 f. *ibidem.*

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author causes the Macedonian hero to reach the country of the *Prastans* with a town of the same name and an island of the same name, of which he is able to relate extremely wonderful things. Thus for instance the destiny of Alexander is said to have been predicted to him in the barbarian unintelligible language and also in the Greek idiom.[43] After his visit to that country, Alexander is said to have had an interview with Semiramis, to have received the homage of Amarons whereon Alexander returned to Babylon. Poendo Kallithenes therefore entirely omits his navigation on the Hydaspes, the Akesines and the Indus to the sea, and his exploits performed during that time. Therefore it would be useless to discuss this biography of the greatest hero of classic antiquity.

As far as the communications of the Theban scholar are concerned, only those may claim notice, which treat of the products and of the inhabitants of Taprobane. He reports that the island possesses five great rivers, which irrigate and fertilize it. It would have been more correct to limit the number of rivers to four, because only as many are there.[44] That the other king of Ceylon completed many magnificent works for the purpose of irrigating the country is known enough. That by the trees which bore at the same time scions, leaves, and fruits, no other than the cocoa-palms are to be understood, suffers no difficulty.[45] It is just as certain that the trees bearing large and small nuts are the Areca-palms. What plant the author meant by the hard shrub is not clear; that the pepper-creeper grows in Ceylon is known; his assertion however that on account of the heat, pigs cannot live among the Indians and the Ethiopians, is an error, because pork is the daily food of the inhabitants of that island.[46]

43 The name Prasiake, which need surely be remarked, is derived from that of Prasioi by which the Greeks designated the mightiest nation of interior India at the time of Alexander the Great, and the first part answers to the Sanskrit word *Prâcya* (eastern). Ptolemy means by this name a small region of inner India; see above p. 152. Of an island of this name the classical authors know nothing, nor of a town *Prasiake*. By it only *Palibothra* can be meant, to which the description must be referred. It is represented as a very large and extremely magnificent one; but as the representation contains many exaggerations, it would be superfluous to take notice of it in this place.

44 See *Ind. Alt.*, I. p. 190. According to the older section the island is said to have possessed such large rivers that five ships could pass near each other; the correct reading is given by C. Mueller in his edition of the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* III, 17, p. 103, 106.

45 See *Ind. Alt.*, I, p. 288 and p. 266. 46 Ritter's *Asien* IV, 2, p. 143.

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What the Theban scholar had related to the bishop of Axum about the inhabitants of Taprobane and their manner of living, can be true only if a distinction be made between the strictly so-called Singhalese and the barbarian *Veddas*. He describes the men of those parts who gathered in the pepper as of very small stature, with large heads and thin hair; the latter was among the Indians frizzled as among the Ethiopians. They subsisted on fruits growing wild, milk-diet, and rice; on certain feast-days they consumed the flesh of sheep and goats. They dressed in sheep-wool and in clothes manufactured thereof. This description best suits the barbarian *Veddas*, who yet live in a very low degree of civilisation. They are of small and crippled stature. The savages among them live in the forest, subsist on fruits growing wild, and if they are, settled near a river, live on the flesh of the animals killed by them. They collect their hair in a bunch at the top of the head.[47] Herewith the information of the Theban scholar may be compared that the inhabitants of Taprobane have their hair smooth. His general remark that the Indians and Ethiopians had curled hair is not founded on the truth, if it is referred to the Aryan Indians; it may be admitted only of the Gondas and the aboriginal inhabitants of India.[48]

If the Theban scholar observed that they dressed in sheep-wool and in clothes manufactured therefrom, this will also apply only to the *Veddas*, because the other Singhalese no doubt also used cotton-clothes. The information that among the inhabitants of Taprobane one man was the chief, may be justified by the fact, that among the various classes of his subjects the king of Kandi nominated a chief.[49] For the assertion that the Theban scholar had described not the strictly so-called Singhalese but the *Veddas*, yet I adduce the reason that they permitted to themselves the use of animal food, which was impossible among the Singhalese sincerely devoted to Buddhism.

A. Banerji-Sastri

47 See *Ind. Alt.*, I, p. 205 with note 3. 48 See *Asien*, p. 375.

49 John D'Oyly's *Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom* in *Trans. of the R. As. S.* III, p. 202.

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Some Notes on the History of the Fig—Does the word "Phalgu, used by Caraka and Suśruta mean "Añjīra"?

In my paper[1] on the History of the Fig I have recorded evidence which suggests that the FIG (*Ficus Carica*) migrated to India very late, the earliest reference to it as "*Añjīra*" being found in a Sanskrit *materia medica* of A.D. 1374. The term "*Añjīra*" for the FIG is evidently a loan word from the Persian, where it is found in the Post-Islamic Persian.[2] The word TIN for the FIG as used in the *Qur'ān* is Arabic and according to some Western scholars it is borrowed from Akkadian "*tittu*", "*tintu*."[3]

The above evidence raises the question: Is there any word in Sanskrit for *Añjīra* or *Tin* or *Ficus Carica*? I have not been able to trace any Sanskrit equivalents to these names of the Fig used in Persian, Arabic and Latin. Recently while reading a Marathi translation[4] of the celebrated medical work *Suśrutasaṃhitā* in Sanskrit I found that the translator had translated the Sanskrit term *Phalgu*[5] by the term *Añjīra*. This translation led me to examine the question further and I note below some evidence which suggests that the word *Phalgu* used in the *Phalavarga* of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* cannot be identified with the *Añjīra* fruit.

Vāgbhaṭa I (7th century A.D.) in his celebrated work *Aṣṭāṅga-saṃgraha*[6] uses the word *Phalgu* in the following verse:—

"सौवीरबदराङ्कोलफल्गुश्लेष्मातकोद्भवम् ॥१६६॥"

Indu's commentary on the above line[7] reads as follows:—

"मोचादिप्रियाकानां वृंहणत्वादिगुणयुक्तम्"

1 *New Indian Antiquary*, July 1941, pp. 125-136.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 136.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Sārtha Suśruta Saṃhitā* by Vaidya Kṛṣṇaśāstri Phadke, Bombay, 1921 (Part I).

5 *Ibid.*, p. 435—*Sūtrasthāna*, ch. 46 "क्षीरवृक्ष...अश्वकर्ण फल्गुपरूषक... प्रभृतीनि" ॥१६३॥

(फल्गु=अंजीर trans.)

p. 436—"विष्टम्भि मधुरं स्निग्धं फल्गुजं तर्पणं गुरु" ॥१८१॥

(Trans. "अंजीर मलावरोधकरणारा, मधुर, स्निग्ध, तृप्ती देणारा व गुरु असा आहे")

6 Ed. with Indu's Comm. *Śaśilekhā* by Pt. Ramachandra Śāstri Kinjavadekar, Chitra Shala Press, Poona, *Sūtrasthāna*, (1940).

7 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

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In this explanation we miss the explanation of the word *Phalgu* but Mr. R. D. Kinjavadekar in his Sanskrit notes on the line observes:—

फल्गुः काकोदुम्बरिका खनामख्यातः खरपत्रो वृक्षविशेषः (काळा उंबर) अत्र केचन फल्गु-शब्देन रामोदुम्बरिकाफलम् (अंजीर) इत्याहुः ।"

This explanation[8] shows that a belief exists among the modern Vaidyas that the word *Phalgu* means *Añjīra*, and Vaidya Phadke's equation "*Phalgu* = *Añjīra*" in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* is evidently on the lines of this belief. We must, therefore, see if this belief is warranted by the earliest explanation of the word *Phalgu* occurring in Sanskrit medical works or elsewhere.

In the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*[9] of Vāgbhaṭa II (8th or 9th century A.D.) the line[10] from the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* is obviously repeated as follows:—

"सौवीरबदराङ्कोल्लफल्गुरूष्मातकोद्भवम्"

The commentators Aruṇadatta (*c.* A.D. 1220) and Hemādri (*c.* 1260 A.D.) explain[11] the word as "फल्गुः—काकोदुम्बरिका". In footnote 30 of my paper[12] on the History of the Fig I have recorded the following facts:—

(1) *A.D. 1374*—Madanapāla refers to *Añjīra* in the line:—

"अंजीरं मंगुलं मेहं काकोदुंबरिकाफलम्"

(2) Madanapāla appears to equate the fruit काकोदुंबरिका with अंजीर perhaps on account of the similarity of the latter with the former.

(3) *Amarakośa* (before 8th cent. A.D.) uses the word *Phalgu* in the following line:—

"काकोदुम्बरिका फल्गुर्मलयू(यू)र्जघनेफला"

(4) Bhānuji Dīkṣita (*c. A.D. 1630*) explains the above line from the *Amarakośa* as:—

"काकप्रिया उदुम्बरी...चत्वारि 'मलय्वा' 'कदुम्बरी' इति ख्यातस्य"

(5) Sarvānanda (*A.D. 1159*) comments on the above line:—

"काकोदुम्बरिकाचतुष्कं कोट्टाडम्बर इति ख्याते"

It would appear from all these explanations that the word *Phalgu* used by the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and repeated by Vāgbhaṭa I and Vāgbhaṭa II in their treatises means औदुम्बर or its variety काकोदुम्बरिका with which later

8 *Ibid.*

9 Ed. by Hari Shastri Paradkar, N. S. Press Bombay, 1939 (with my English Introduction dealing with Vāgbhaṭa II and his Commentators).

10 *Ibid.*, p. 118 *Sūtrasthāna*—"अम्लवर्गविज्ञानीय अध्यायः ६"

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 111.

12 *New Ind. Ant.*, July 1941, pp. 135-136.

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Madanapāla (in A.D. 1374) possibly identifies the term अंजीर. The explanation of Madanapāla being a very late one can have no determining force in equating *Phalgu* with *Añjīra* as our Vaidyas are inclined to do at present. This view of mine is further substantiated by the following evidence:—

The *Caraka Saṃhitā,* the earliest known medical text uses the word *Phalgu* in the following line:—

"तर्पणं बृंहणं फल्गु गुरु विष्टम्भि शीतलम्"

Cakrapāṇidatta (*c.* 1060 A.D.) explains the word *Phalgu* as "*Audumbara*". In view of this explanation of the earliest commentator on the earliest medical treatise of *Caraka* I am inclined to believe—

(1) that the word *Phalgu* used by Caraka, Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa I, Vāgbhaṭa II means "*Audumbara*" fruit as stated by Cakrapāṇidatta (*c.* 1060 A.D.) and

(2) that it may have been used for a variety of the "*Audumbara*" fruit called by the names काकोदुंबरिका, कोट्टाडंबर, काउम्बरी, कदुम्बरी. When *Añjīra* got naturalized in India people may have called it by these names perhaps on account of its similarity with the Añjīra. If काकोदुंबरिका is identical with "काळा उंबर" a *black audumbara* as suggested by R. D. Kinjavedakar we may be able to account for the name काकोदुम्बरिका for *Añjīra* mentioned in the work of Madanapāla in A.D. 1374. Prof. Shaikh[14] mentions some varieties of Añjīra which include "a *blackish variety generally used in medicine*". Perhaps this blackish variety may have been used for medical purposes in India in Madanapāla's time and hence it may have been confounded with काकोदुम्बरिका or a blackish variety of the *Audumbara* fruit mentioned in the *Amarakośa*.

In view of the foregoing discussion I find it difficult to equate *Phalgu* of the *Carakasaṃhitā* and the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* with *Añjīra*. For the present I am inclined to accept the explanation of Cakrapāṇidatta (*c.* A.D. 1060) that *Phalgu* in the *Carakasaṃhitā* means "*audumbara*". The medical glossary *Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu* which is earlier than the *Amarakośa* contains no reference to *Añjīra* but on the contrary the properties of the "*audumbara*" and "*Kākodumbarikā*" are separately given in it.

13 *Carakasaṃhitā*. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1922. p. 156.
14 *NIA*., July 1941, p. 136.

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In a paper contributed by me to the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (Hyderabad) I have pointed out (1) that Bindusāra, the father of Emperor Aśoka ordered some figs and raisin wine from Antiochus Soter, the then king of Syria.[15] These figs were sent to Bindusāra by his Syrian ally. Bindusāra came to the throne in B.C. 298, while Antiochus died in B.C. 261. In view of this interest of Indians in the *figs* as early as 3rd century B.C., one wonders why the *Añjīra* or *Fig* appears very late in Indian literature. Is it possible to find any evidence in Indian sources about at least *imported figs*, if not those cultivated on Indian soil? Any evidence bearing on this question from Indian sources between say B.C. 100 and A.D. 1000 is eagerly awaited by me from scholars working in the field of the early history of Indian culture.

P. K. Gode

A hitherto-unknown Version of the Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā

Several versions of the *Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā* are known.[1] A hitherto-unknown and interesting version of the work has of late come to my notice in a Bengali manuscript belonging to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta. The work which is generally called *Kālikāmaṅgala* in the majority of the colophons[2] refers to the greatness of the goddess Kālī or Raṅkiṇī through the *motif* of the *Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā*.

The work gives through the mouths of the statuettes fixed to the throne a running account (and not stray incidents only) of the life-story of king Vikrama beginning from his previous life when he was born as a sage named Kaṅkaṇa. The sage became an adept in the art of stealing through the grace of the goddess Raṅkiṇī who was propitiated by the long-continued worship of the sage. In practising the art the sage stole all ornaments of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva who being exasperated tore him into pieces. The head of the sage, severed from the body, meditated on the goddess who

15 V. Smith, *Early History of India*, (Oxford, 1914), p. 147.

1 Five versions have been dealt with by Edgerton (Harvard Oriental Series Nos. 26-7).

2 A number of the colophons refer to the work variously as *Kālikāpurāṇa*, *Siṃhāsanvatrisā*, *Puttalīsaṃgīta*, and *Ṣaṭsambādabhāṣā*. The name of the author is given as Śivarāma Ghoṣ, son of Rājendra Ghoṣ and Rādhikā. There is no reference either to the source of the stories or to the time of composition.

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became furious at the destruction of her devotee. Śiva begged pardon of her and prophesied that the sage would be born as a king and would be endowed with *Siddhis* (supernatural powers).

So in due course the sage was born as king Vikramāditya, second son of the sovereign king Kanakāditya and his second wife Kalāvatī. His elder brother Śakāditya ascended the throne on the death of the father. At the age of twelve Vikrama was initiated into the cult of Kālī, who one night asked him in sleep to rule over the subjects as king. Vikrama forthwith went into the room of his elder brother, killed him and ascended the throne.

After a year Vikrama went to his preceptor who would not even see his face as he had committed a grave sin by killing his own brother. So at the desire of the preceptor Vikrama went on pilgrimage and on his return in disguise after twelve years found that every day a new king was selected to be killed every night by the spirits. He expressed his intention to be the king, satisfied the spirits by means of sumptuous feasts and escaped from their clutches. But they declared that the king was not yet free from sin. So he again went to the preceptor and at his direction worshipped Kālī with severe austerities and was granted *Siddhi* by the propitiated deity.

The story as to how Vikrama acquired the throne is a long one. The throne was specially prepared by Viśvakarman, the Divine artisan, at the request of Indra who gave it as a present to a Brahmin king Nepāla by name. Nepāla had a daughter Maunavatī, who declared that she would marry the person who could induce her to speak. Many were the princes that came from different parts to try their luck but all failed and were sacrificed before the goddess Bhadrakālī. Sudhākara, a Bhāṭ (bard) who also came but failed, bribed the guard, escaped death, went to the court of the large-hearted king Vikrama and begged of him to secure Maunavatī for him. Through the grace of Kālī the king succeeded in winning Maunavatī and along with her the throne as a marriage present and made over the princess to Sudhākar.

But even such a great man as Vikrama must be put to a test by the gods and so Śiva in the guise of a mendicant came to test him. He considered the king impious and left his place without accepting any alms. At the importunities of the king, He indicated the characteristics of a virtuous man. According to Him an ideal man was the Bhoja king Vīrabala. Vikrama went to the capital of Vīrabala to make acquaintance with him. He first of all came in contact with a lady who became deeply attached

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to him, so much so that she paid him three lacs of rupees on two consecative days so that he might have the privilege of being entertained by the well-known courtesan Lakṣa Hīrā (Hīrā whose fee was a lac of rupees). When Vikrama reached Hīrā's house on the first day and was talking with the lady, a monkey came and related the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. Vikrama was highly pleased and gave him the lac of rupees he had with him. Next day he went with two lacs, when a *Śuka* bird that came there at the orders of Śiva, narrated, at the request of Hīrā, the exploits of the mother-goddess as recorded in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. The manuscript which is incomplete comes to an end in the middle of this narration.

Altogether the manuscript contains the stories as told by twelve statuettes the names of which are different from those in other versions, e.g., Śūkeśa, Yogeśa, Bhīma, Nīlasena, Nala, Raktākṣa, Hiṅgulākṣa, Makarākṣa, Anala, Anila, Sūcīmukha and Vakadanta.

The introductory story as to how king Bhoja came upon the throne is also given here in a different manner. It is stated that on one occasion a Brahmin handed over seven jewels which he had received from a king to a merchant friend with the request that these should be made over to his wife. The merchant, however, misappropriated the jewels and on a complaint being made to king Bhoja the Brahmin failed to prove his case and was punished. When he was being escorted by the police followed by the merchant and his friends through a forest, a cowherd boy, seated on an ant-hill and playing the rôle of a king, called them and heard the case. He thereupon asked the Brahmin, the merchant and his friends to make clay-models of the jewels and in this way detected the real culprit. Bhoja was astonished at the wisdom of the cowherd-boy and on enquiry came to learn that it was all due to the famous throne of king Vikrama which lay buried under the ant-hill. So Bhoja went there, threw down the cowherd-boy, unearthed the throne and when on an auspicious day he made an attempt to occupy it, he was opposed by the first statuette who described the story of the previous life of Vikrama, the real and worthy owner of the throne and fell down. The others also followed one after another each time a fresh attempt was made, with the narration of a part of the life-story of Vikrama.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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Was Cirañjīva's Patron a Gond?

Writing in Volume XVIII of the *Quarterly*, Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya remarks:—

"The term *Gauḍa* apparently signifies that the family of Kṛpārāma (grandfather of Cirañjīva's patron Yaśavantasiṃha) originally belonged to the Gond tribe, which founded several states during this period in the Central Provinces. What led a distinguished Bengali scholar like Śatāvadhāna Bhaṭṭācārya to seek the patronage of this Gond chief cannot be ascertained."

I wonder what led the learned Professor to identify the *Gauḍas* with Gonds. Had he consulted any of the Muslim histories of the period, the *khyāta* of Naiṇsī, or even Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, he would have found that the *Gauḍas* are one of the well-known 36 clans of the Rajputs. According to Mm. Dr. G. H. Ojha, much of the territory adjoining Ajmer was once in the hands of the Gauḍas, and the Marot parganā of the Jodhpur State is still known as *Gauḍavātī* or the land of Gauḍas.[1] Up to 1809, a Gauḍa chief was also the master of a principality near Gwalior which yielded rupees twelve lacs a year in those days when the price of Rupee was much higher than it is now.[2] In Rajputana they are till now the masters of Rājgarh.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Was Karṇa Caulukya either defeated or killed by the Cāhamāna ruler Durlabharāja

In his *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, Dr. D. C. Ganguly states that the Cāhamāna ruler Durlabha assisted Udayāditya of Mālwā in defeating Karṇa Caulukya of Gujarāt.[1] Dr. H. C. Ray goes further even than this, for in his *Dynastic History of Northern India* he writes

1 Ojha—Hindi translation of the *Tod's Rajasthan*, I, Chapter VII, Note 238, p. 478.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 302.

1 Pp. 131-132.

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that the tradition preserved in the *Hammīramahākāvya* that Karṇa was killed by the Cāhamāna Duśśala has probably some foundation in fact.[2]

That both these learned writers have gone wrong would be obvious to those going through the following verses of the *Pṛthvīrājamahākāvya* which forms one of our most reliable sources for the history of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī : —

तस्य विग्रहराजेन भोगीन्द्रेणानुजन्मना
शेषेण च महीभारं त्याजिताः पृथिवीभृतः ॥७१॥
मालवेनोदयादिन्येनास्मादेवाप्यतोन्नतिः
मन्दाकिनीह्रदादेव लेभे पूरणमब्धिना ॥७६॥
सारङ्गाख्यं तुरङ्गं स ददौ यस्मै मनोजवम् ।
न त्युच्चैश्श्रवसं क्षीरसिन्धोरन्यः प्रयच्छति ॥७७॥
जिगाय गूर्जरं कर्णं तमश्वं प्राप्य मालवः
लब्ध्वानूरुस्सूर्यरथं करोति व्योमलङ्घनम् ॥७८॥

Dr. D. C. Ganguly's mistake consists in not seeing that the above verses refer not to Durlabharāja but to his younger brother Vigraharāja III and that of Dr. H. C. Ray in not having kept these in view while writing his account of the Caulukyas of Gujarāt.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Subandhu

In the *IHQ.*, for December, 1942 (Vol. XVIII, No. 4), pp. 373-5, Dr. Manomohan Ghosh has a note on the question of the date of Subandhu. In it, he says, that the mention of Vikramāditya in one of the introductory verses of the Vāsavadattā, the prose romance of Subandhu, is not "a conventional harking back to happy times long past, but forms a reliable evidence for taking Subandhu to have lived very close to Vikramāditya' (Candragupta II, A.D. 374-413). He further suggests that Subandhu could not complete his Vāsavadattā during this Vikramāditya's time, that Candrakāśa, the successor of King Vikramāditya patronised Subandhu and made him one of his ministers. And this, according to Dr. Ghosh, is the significance of the verse.

2 Vol. II, p. 664. In justification of the above view Dr. Ray adds also the note: "Duśśala was sixth in descent from Vigraharāja, the enemy of Mūlarāja, from whom Karṇa was fifth in descent."

3 Canto V.

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ficance of Vāmana's reference to Subandhu[1] as the minister of Candragupta's son.

We shall not discuss here the date of the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu printed by the Vani Vilas Press and others, but shall confine ourselves to the Candragupta and Subandhu referred to by Vāmana. Some years back, Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi discussed this point in a note of his entitled Nṛttapāra in one of the issues of the now extinct *Tirumalai Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa;* As early as 1924, the late Mr. Rangaswami Sarasvatī dealt with this same point in the *Ind. Ant.*, pp. 8 ff. and 177 ff. I had occasion to take notes of this question during my study of the *Abhinavabhāratī* of Abhinavagupta on the Nāṭya Śāstra and as it is of some importance, I may be permitted to draw the attention of scholars to it with this note of mine.

Abhinavagupta is explaining the six kinds of Śārīrābhinaya, in the Sāmānyābhinaya chapter of the Nāṭya Śāstra. One of the varieties of Śārīrābhinaya is called Nāṭyāyita, of which Abhinava gives two sub-classes, one being the small variety illustrated by the *Garbhāṅka* or a sub-drama within an act as in the *Uttararāmacarita* or the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, and the other being the big variety, a case of sustained Nāṭyāyita, the entire story being developed in a series of acts within acts. As an illustration of this second and sustained variety of Nāṭyāyita, Abhinava mentions the *Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhāra* of Mahākavi *Subandhu*.

तत्रास्य बहुतरव्यापिनो बहुगर्भस्यप्रायितुल्यस्य नाट्यायितस्य उदाहरणं महाकविसुबन्धुनिबद्धो वासवदत्तानाट्यधारारूपः समस्त एव प्रयोगः।

तत्र हि बिन्दुसारः प्रयोज्यवस्तुन (-वस्तुनि) उदयनचरिते सामाजिकीकृतोऽपि, उदयनः वासवदत्ताचेष्टिते। एष चार्थः स्वस्मिन्सूत्ररूपके (सर्वस्मिंस्तत्र रूपके?) दृष्टे सुज्ञानो भवति। अतिवैतत्यभयात्तु न प्रदर्शितः। एकस्तु प्रदेश उदाहियते। तत्र उदयने सामाजिकीकृते सूत्रधारप्रयोगः

'तव सुचरितैरेष जयति' इति।

तत उदयनः 'कुतो मम सुचरितानि' इति सास्रं विलपति।

'एह्यम्ब किं कटकपिंगलवा चस्तैः (?)
भक्षोऽहमभ्यु(स्म्यु)दयनः सुललितानीयः (सुतलालनीयः?)।

1 The Vani Vilas Press edition of Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkārasūtras and Vṛtti wrongly reads here Vasubhadhu; it is necessary to emphasise once more that it is a wrong reading, since some scholars still rely on it for assigning Vasubandhu to the time of Candragupta II and his son.

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योगन्धरायण समानय राजपुत्रौ (त्रीम)
हा हर्षरक्षिन गतस्त्वमपि प्रभावः ॥
तवैव बिन्दुसारः सामाजिकीभूतः परमार्थनामभि (मन्य) मानः
'धन्या खल्वप्रलापैं.....श्च मति' ?
प्रतीहारी—(आत्मगतम्) 'अ अणिद परमत्थकलने हि अि इक्खुदेवो इत्यादि ॥"

Abhinavabhāratī, Madras Govt. Or. Library, MS. Vol. III, p. 45.

On p. 47, *ibid.*, again, Abhinava says:

"नाट्यायितं च वासवदत्तानाट्यधारे प्रतिपं (प्रतिपदं) दृश्यते ।"

Earlier, in vol. II, p. 448, Abhinava mentions Candragupta and Bindusāra as characters in drama:

अन्ये त्वाहुः पूर्वं राजर्षिवंशप्रभवा नायका उक्ताः । अनया त्वार्यया चन्द्रगुप्त विन्दुसारादयोऽपि संगृह्यन्ते इति ।

In the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, we find a reference to this drama mentioned by Abhinavagupta:

"बन्ध इति परैर्ग्रहणम् । यथा वासवदत्तानृत्तवारे वत्सराजस्य ।

Gack. Edn. Ch. I. Sl. 21, p. 36.

These references reveal to us a great poet, Mahākavi, named Subandhu and a peculiar type of drama composed by him named Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhāra (-vāra) in which the stories of both Udayana and Bindusāra seem to have been dramatised, with Bindusāra witnessing Udayana's story, Udayana becoming audience to Vāsavadattā's act and so on. Candragupta also figures in the story of Bindusāra.

One of the introductory verses in the *Avantisundarī* of Daṇḍin refers to this Subandhu, his relation with Bindusāra and to the story of Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhā(vā)ra mentioned by Abhinava.

सुबन्धुः किल निष्क्रान्तः विन्दुसारस्य बन्धनात् ।
तस्यैव हृदयं बद्धा वत्सराज..... ॥

Madras Govt. Library Triennial Catalogue, 1919-22, R. 3454 (p. 5150).

These references show that by Candragupta's son and Subandhu mentioned by Vāmana, we need not understand only the Gupta king Candragupta II or the author of the prose romance Vāsavadattā. The citation and explanation in Vāmana can very well refer to the great dramatist mentioned by Abhinavagupta and the drama Vāsavadattā Nāṭyadhā(-vā)ra in which Candragupta Maurya and his son Bindusāra figure. Of this Bindusāra, Subandhu was a minister. Vāmana's quotation suggests difficulties

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for Candragupta's son, as also the help rendered to him by wise counsellors like Subandhu. Such a state of things could well be imagined from a perusal of the *Ārya Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* also, where we find Bindusāra coming to throne as a boy;[2] and the Brāhmaṇa later referred to in the same work as one whose-name begins with '*Sa*' is probably, as suggested by Jayaswal, Subandhu.[3]

On other grounds also, such as the mention of an *Ākhyāyikā Vāsavadattā* by Patañjali, it seems unnecessary to suppose Bāṇa as referring to the available *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu.

V. Raghavan

Date of the Ratirahasya

Of the *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka, an important work in Kāma Śāstra, Schmidt, Winternitz and Keith have not been able to suggest any date earlier than the 13th or 12th century. Recently in a Note on the Kāma Śāstra work *Guṇapatākā* in the *IHQ.*, XVIII, ii, pp. 166-7, I pointed out that the *Ratirahasya* had used the *Guṇapatākā*, the *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Kāma Sūtras* had used the *Ratirahasya*, and that Bhoja had used the *Jayamaṅgalā* in his *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, which shows that the *Ratirahasya* is older than Bhoja, (*c.* 1010-1062 A.D.).

Is it possible to suggest a still earlier limit to the date of the *Ratirahasya*? In one of his endless descriptive passages woven with two meanings, Somadeva Sūri says in his *Yaśastilakacampū*, p. 25, Kāvyamālā 70, part 1:

'चरणनखसंपादितरतिरहस्यरत्नदीपविरचनैः'

It will not be out of the way of the erudite and encyclopedic writers of this type if we suggest that Somadeva refers to the work *Ratirahasya* here

2 Tri. Skt. Series, text, part III, p. 613; Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, Skt. text, pp. 32-3.

3 Tri. Text, pt. III, p. 653, Jayaswal's Text, pp. 72-3; तस्यापरेण विख्यातः सकाराद्यो द्विजस्तथा This *Sa*-kārādya Dvija or Subandhu is mentioned just after the *Vi*-kārādya Dvija, which is Viṣṇugupta; both are said to have been in *Puṣpapura*, the Maurya capital. The corrupt text here may thus be reconstructed:

तस्यापरेण विख्यातो विकाराख्यो (विकाराद्यो) द्विजस्तथा ।
परे (पुरे) पुष्पसमाख्याता (ते) भवितासौ etc. ॥

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in his description of the city damsels. That a literary composition is meant receives strength from the use of the word 'विरचन'.

Somadeva says at the end of his Campū that it was written in A.D. 959 and we may therefore push up the limit of the date of the *Ratirahasya* to 959 A.D.

If the passage in Somadeva's Campū refers to the *Ratirahasya*, it also refers to a *Ratnadīpa* on Erotics which I am disposed to take as an old commentary on the *Ratirahasya*. No such work has however been known yet from other sources of information.

V. Raghavan

The Amarakośavyākhyā of Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya

In the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, there are Mss. of a commentary on the *Amarakośa* by a writer named Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya alias Mārapota. (R. Nos. 1170, 1401, 4557).

व्याचष्टामरसिंहनाथरचितं ग्रन्थं निघण्टूत्तमं
ख्यातं शिष्यहितार्थमप्ययसुधीः श्रीमारपोताभिधः। R. 1401. (End).

This Appayārya alias Mārapota flourished in the court of a Śiṅgabhūpāla of the Recarla family, who is styled in two verses as Kumāra Śiṅga.

रेचर्लवंशम्भूतेरास्थान्यां शिङ्गभूपतेः।
बोम्मगएव्यप्ययाचार्यमूर्त्या जागर्ति शारदा॥
कुमारशिङ्गभूपेन लक्ष्यलक्षणवेदिना।
शोधितश्चेदयं ग्रन्थः किं शोध्यं शोधकान्तरैः॥
कुमारशिङ्गभूपेन यः कदापि न शोधितः।
स ग्रन्थः शोधितोऽप्यन्यैः किं व्यवह्रियते बुधैः॥
काव्यालङ्कारनानार्थतत्त्वभावितमानसः।
कुमारशिङ्गभूपाल एक एवास्ति नापरः॥ R. 1401. (End).

That this patron of Appaya Mārapota, Kumāra Śiṅga, was also styled Sarvajña is known from the last verse of the *Amarakośavyākhyā* in which the author is praised through śleṣa:

जैवातृकं बुधगुरुं निलयं कलानां
सर्वज्ञमूर्धमणिमाश्रितशुद्धपक्षम्।
श्रीबोम्मगएव्युपपदाङ्कितमप्पयार्यं
सर्वेष्टितोषितसुरं द्विजराजमाहुः॥ R. 1401. (End).

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In the epithet 'Sarvajñamūrdhamaṇi' here, Sarvajña refers to Śiva and Kumāra Śiṅga. In the body of the work, Bommaganṭi specifies that his patron is unequalled in Sāhitya Vidyā.

ख्यातः साहित्यविद्यायां केवलः शिङ्गभूपतिः ।

R. 1401. p. 313. line 14.

When we think about the identity of this patron of Bommaganṭi, we are reminded of Śiṅgabhūpāla, the author of the *Rasārṇava Sudhākara,* and the patron of Viśveśvara, the author of the *Camatkāracandrikā.* The author of the *Rasārṇava Sudhākara* was also styled Kumāra Śiṅga and Sarvajña.[1] The *Camatkāracandrikā* says in two places:

कुमारश्रीशिङ्गे जलधिरशनां शासति महीम् ।

Pp. 33. 104. R. 2679 (Madras Ms.).

विद्यादैवत तात तावकगुरो सर्वज्ञचूडामणौ

P. 59. *ibid.*

Therefore we may take that along with Viśveśvara, Bommaganṭi Appayārya alias Mārapota also flourished in the court of the author of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* whose time is *c.* 1385-1410 A.D.

This Bommaganṭi Appayārya appears as the Guru of a Harihara, of the Bhāradvāja gotra, son of Narasiṃha, and author of commentaries on the *Anargharāghava* (Madras R. 484. Trivandrum Palace. Des. Cat. 1448) and on the *Tārkikarakṣāsārasaṅgraha.* (Tanjore New Cat. 6520-5).

WORKS AND AUTHORS QUOTED IN BOMMAGAṆṬI APPAYĀRYA'S AMARAKOŚAVYĀKHYĀ

Ajaya: pp. 211. ll. 8; 251. 15; 260. 10; 282. 21; 284. 10; 291. 6; 385. 1; 387. 11; 389. 20; *Abhinanda:* pp. 337. ll. 7. *Amaramālā:* pp. 264. ll. 1. 326. 4; 346. 9; *Āpastamba:* pp. 213. ll. 3; *Āpastambiya mantra praśna:* pp. 203. ll. 18. *Ālaṅkārikas:* pp. 11. ll. 15. *Upasarga vṛtti:* pp. 148. ll. 7; *Kātya:* pp. 322. ll. 8. *Kālidāsa:* his poems are frequently quoted; his dramas are also quoted, but less frequently. *Kāvyaprakāśikā* (-udāhṛtaśloka): pp. 148. ll. 9; 233. 7; 427. 11; *Kāśikā* (Kāśikākāra also): pp. 201. ll. 6; 105. 7; 113. 12; 146. 13; 210. 17. 210. 20; 212. 14, 15; 288. 2; 347. 12; 349. 10; 380. 8; 412. 6; 466. 12; 489. 2; 493. 2; 494. 17; 520. 6; *Kiraṇāvalikāra* (Udayana): pp. 328. ll. 6; *Keśavasvāmin:* pp. 262. ll. 16; 295. 9; 311. 16; 498. 7; *Kaiyaṭa:* pp. 362. ll. 15; *Kauṭilya*

1 Mr. Ch. Papayya Sastri of the Telugu Academy, Coconada drew my attention to this fact. For an account of the *Camatkāracandrikā* of Viśveśvara, see my article in the *Annals BORI.*, Poona XVI, i-ii, pp. 131-139.

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(Arthaśāstra): pp. 260. ll. 12; *Kṣirasvāmin:* pp. 324. ll. 4; 339. 18; 351. 21; Kṣemendra (poet): pp. 231. ll. 13. *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi:* pp. 284. ll. 4; 344. 12; 376. 4; 401. 6; *Gaṇitajñāḥ:* pp. 90. ll. 8; Gopāla (poet): pp. 331. ll. 15; (नवानां, कोशधान्यानां यथाकामी च पक्षिणः । इति गोपालः ।) *Govardhana* (a. of a Yamaka kāvya as q. by Sarvānanda): pp. 284. ll. 11; *Candra:* pp. 236. ll. 7; 242. 11; 246. 5; 271. 20; 319. 2; 443. 4; 457. 17; 457. 19; 495. 16. *Campu Kāvya:* pp. 456. ll. 5. (नीवीमुन्मुच्य शनैः स्पृशति पतौ करेण काञ्चिपदम् । इति चंपुकाव्ये हस्वान्तस्य प्रयोगः). *Cintāmaṇi:* pp. 337. ll. 10; (चिन्तामणौ उपशब्दादुत्तरेषाम्). *Chandogāḥ:* pp. 236. ll. 15. *Jayāditya:* pp. 464. ll. 7; 486. 11; 505. 3; *Ṭikākāra* (on Amara): pp. 91. ll. 14; 500. 17; *Ṭikāsarvasvakāraḥ,* see Sarvānanda. *Tārkikāḥ:* pp. 264. ll. 21. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa:* pp. 293. 1; 341. 9; 392. 15; *Trikāṇḍi:* pp. 404. ll. 2. ('कामं कामाभ्यनुज्ञायां' इति त्रिकाण्ड्यामुक्तम्) ; *Dakṣiṇāvartanātha:* pp. 181. ll. 4. his c. on *Kumārasambhava* where, while explaining 'व्यलीकनिःश्वासमिवोत्ससर्ज', he interprets 'Vyalika' as Lajjā; pp. 313. ll. 17. his c. on *K.S.*, iv. 'हरकोपानलभस्म केवलम्' where he interprets 'Kevala' as Śuddha; pp. 332. ll. 19. on a different reading (निरौक्त्य) in *K.S.* or *R.V. Devīmāhātmya:* pp. 48. ll. 4. *Durga:* (lexicographer): pp. 236. ll. 3. *Durgācārya:* pp. 342. ll. 7. (असिर्भूषार्थो धातुः दुर्गाचार्येण पठितः इति सुबोधिनीकारः) ; *Dravyāvali:* pp. 301. ll. 2; *Dharmakīrti:* (his lexicon): pp. 279. ll. 11; *Dhātupradīpikā:* pp. 57. ll. 13; *Dhātuvṛtti:* pp. 146, ll. 16; 202. 8; 294. 3; *Dhātuvṛttikāra:* pp. 45. ll. 8; 81. 16; *Nāmāvali:* pp. 180. ll. 3; *Nānārthasaṅgraha:* pp. 181. ll. 16; 206. 8; 215. 8; 233. 9; 242 18; 309. 5; *Nighaṇṭu:* pp. 242. ll. 21; 296. 20; *Nairuktāḥ:* pp. 36. ll. 4. *Naiṣadha kāvya:* pp. 234. ll. 20; 324. 16; 340. 15; 387. 14, 15; 427. 17; 457. 8; 490. 18; 498. 15; *Nyāsa, Nyāsakāra:* pp. 212. ll. 15; 330. 9; 451. 9; 505. 3; *Pañcapādikā:* pp. 510. ll. 5; *Padamañjarī:* pp. 485. ll. 15; *Pāñcarātra:* pp. 305. ll. 15; *Purāṇa:* pp. 280. ll. 5; 290. 15; 297. 19; *Pūrṇacandra:* pp. 114. *Prakāśa:* (lexicon). pp. 175. ll. 8; 186. 5; *Pratāpa* (lexicographer): pp. 175. 4; 209. 7; 222. 6; 227. 2; 228. 3; 230. 4; 235. 4; 241. 5; 246. 7; 290. 12; 291. 13; 307, 20; 501. 1; *Prākṛtasaptaśati:* pp. 332. ll. 12; *Bārhaspatya Liṅgānuśāsana:* pp. 431. ll. 3. *Buddha Caritra:* pp. 174. ll. 10; *Bodhāyana:* pp. 372. ll. 5; *Bhaṭṭāḥ* (Bhāṭṭa mīmāṃsakas); pp. 359. ll. 10; *Bhaṭṭi Kāvya:* pp. 89. ll. 3; 114. 19; 132. 9; 242. 13; *Bhavabhūti:* All his three dramas are quoted; *Bhāgavata:* pp. 216. ll. 2; *Bhāguri:* pp. 137. 14; *Bhāravi:* His *Kirātāljuniya* is frequently quoted; *Bhāṣyakāra:* pp. 410. ll. 17; *Bhojarāja:* pp. 190. ll. 14; *Manu:* pp. 234. ll. 1. *Mahābhārata:* pp. 276. ll. 1; 487. 6; *Mahābhārata (Droṇaparvan):* pp. 253. ll. 10; *Mahābhāṣya:* pp. 290. ll. 3; 362. 15; 493. 3; *Mahābhāṣyakāra:* pp. 153. ll. 2. *Mahodadhi:* (lex.) pp. 393. ll. 10; 394. 12;

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406. 11; 425. 20; *Māgha:* his *Śiśupālavadha* is quoted frequently; *Mādhava* (lexicographer): pp. 177. ll. 8; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* pp. 213. ll. 22; *Mārtāṇḍa* (lexicographer): pp. 44. ll. 11.

स्यात्कुत्सिते (तं ?) वाच्यलिङ्गवद् इत्यकारान्तेषु मार्ताण्डेन अभिधानात् ।
pp. 108. ll. 13.

'वृन्दारकः सुरे श्रेष्ठे मनोज्ञे वाच्यलिङ्गवत्' इति मार्ताण्डे ।

Murāri (dramatist): pp. 245. ll. 7; 318. 14; 387. 18. *Murāri nāṭaka* (*Anargharāghava*): pp. 117. ll. 9; 238. 19; 410. 11; *Yamakakāvya* (by Govardhana): pp. 284. ll. 11. *Yayāticarita Nāṭaka:* pp. 133. ll. 3; *Yājñavalkya* (Smṛtikāra): pp. 183. ll. 4; 249. 17; *Yādavaprakāśa:* pp. 253. ll. 1; *Raṅgarāja:* pp. 200. ll. 9. ('वेध्यं लक्ष्यं+विदुः' इति रङ्गराजोदाहृतमभिधानम्) *Ratikañcuka:* (a text on kāmaśāstra) pp. 332. ll. 8; *Ratnakośa:* pp. 187, ll. 16; 473. 10; *Rabhasa:* pp. 226. ll. 9; 242. 6; 245. 19; 251. 13; 252. 21; 263. 1; 321. 15; 336. 17; 346. 7; 354. 7; 472. 10; 475. 13; *Rāmāyaṇa* (?): pp. 263. ll. 13. *Rudra* (lexicographer): pp. 133. 13; 204. 7; 208. 21; 216. 15; 237. 12; 293. 6; 301. 10; 312. 19; 338. 1; 344. 21; 352. 1; 354. 5; 404. 2; 413. 13, 472. 6; 473. 4; 475. 7, 17; 499. 9; 500. 15; *Līlāvati:* pp. 150. 14; (अन्वेषणगवेषणे स्त्रीक्लीबयोरिति लीलावत्याम्) *(Ācārya) Vallabha:* pp. 150. ll. 1. ('द्रव्यादिषट्कविच्छेदमेलनेन विवर्जयेत्' इति आचार्यवल्लभप्रयोगः) *Vallabhācārya:* pp. 402. ll. 20 (एककोटिपरिग्रहो यद्यर्थः इति वल्लभाचार्यः) *Vallabhārya,* commentator on Māgha: pp. 115. ll. 12. (स्वयं विधाताऽयदृच्छया इति माघश्लोकव्याख्याने वल्लभार्यः ।) *Vākyapadiya:* pp. 470; *Vāmana:* pp. 486. ll. 11;

इह द्वैधं जयादित्यः पथः संख्याव्ययात्परम् ।
नपुंसकमुवाचामुं पुमांसं वामनोऽब्रवीत् ॥

pp. 510. ll. 11; *Vāmanapradīpa:* pp. 176. 20; (तथा च वामनप्रदीपे, 'स्याद्भृतिकं गन्धतृणं माला कर्पूरनाम च' इति ।) *Vāmanasūtra* (*Kāvyālaṅkāraśūtra*): pp. 264. ll. 19; *Vāmaniyaliṅgānuśāsana:* pp. 495. ll. 20; *Vārttika* (gram): pp. 209. ll. 15; *Vārttikakāra* (Kātyāyana): pp. 115. ll. 10. *Vedabhāṣya by Haradattācārya:* pp. 489. ll. 4. This perhaps refers to Haradatta Bhāṣya on Mantrapraśna, see Tanjore no. 895-6, Ekāgni kāṇḍa). *Vijñāneśvara* (c. on *Yāj. Smṛti*): pp. 183. ll. 4; 249. 17; 263. 17; 499. 17; *Viśvaprakāśa:* pp. 142. ll. 1; 144. 15; 173. 2; 173 13; 175. 1; 175 10; 176. 18; 178. 1; 179; 180. 10; 204. 2; 205. 15; 226. 2; 227. 15; 230. 4; 248. 10; 262. 12; 267. 11; 272. 15; 281. 4; 292. 17; 293. 14; 293. 21; 301 14; 302. 17, 304. 11, 17; 305. 2; 310. 21; 312. 11; 313. 2; 316. 6; 320. 21; 322. 15; 326. 18. 327. 17; 334. 18; 376. 8; 454. 19; 456. 1; 473. 3, 12; 474. 1; *Vṛttikāra:* pp. 267. ll. 3; 300. 1, 467. 10; *Vaijayanti:* pp. 22. ll. 20; 44. 7; 224. 5; 263. 11; 283. 9; 297. 1;

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299. 8; 330. 2; 352. 11; 400. 6; 455. 4; *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* pp. 290. ll. 3. *Śatānanda:* pp. 56. ll. 2. *Śabdabhedaprakāśa:* pp. 178. ll. 9; 346. 13; *Śarvadhara:* pp. 315. ll. 5; *Śākaṭāyana:* pp. 279. ll. 10; *Śāśvatakośa:* pp. 173. 13; 198. 2; 210. 5; *Bhaṭṭa Śiva*: (lexicographer), pp. 454. ll. 21. *Śivadharma:* pp. 276. ll. 3; *Śeṣa* (lex.): pp. 206. ll. 13; 207. 10; 208. 9; 211. 17; 213. 21; 215. 13, 18; 216. 3; 216. 11; 216. 18; 217. 10; 218. 10; 220. 7; 221. 12; 221. 19; 223. 8; 224. 1; 225. 22; 226. 13; 226. 16; 227. 4; 227. 8; 228. 13, 22; 229. 19; 230. 10; 231. 3; 231. 17; 233. 3; 234. 11; 237. 5, 24; 241. 14; 243. 8; 245. 9, 13; 246. 7; 247. 1; 247. 13; 248. 22; 251. 1. 7, 10; 252. 9; 257. 5; 259. 9. 260. 5; 261. 19; 263. 6; 264. 4. 9; 265. 5; 266. 13; 268. 21; 271. 2; 271. 10; 285. 15; 288. 12; 289. 1, 8; 291. 4; 291. 15; 292. 20; 300. 20; 303. 15; 304. 2, 6, 8, 21; 310. 21; 311. 8; 312. 4; 314. 18; 316. 9, 19; 322. 10; 323. 6; 380. 10; 388. 3; 391. 4; 423. 18; 439. 19; 440. 3; 445. 14; 526. 20; *Śeṣavyākhyā:* pp. 230. ll. 13; *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa:* pp. 402. ll. 8; *Śruti*: pp. 160. 2; *Saṁkṣepa Rāmāyaṇa:* pp. 90. ll. 8; *Sarvānanda:* pp. 22. ll. 20; 25. 9; 26. 20; 32. 20; 38. 10; 39. 10; 43. 10; 45. 12; 48. 4; 52. 7; 55. 19; 57. 13; 60. 7; 80. 13; 112. 11; 114. 16; 128. 10; 131. 16; 138. 14; 144. 4; 155; 168. 8; 183. 4; 183. 20; 284. 11; *Subodhini:* pp. 3. ll. 8; 4. 2; 22. 6; 22. 20; 25. 9; 27. 11; 30. 17; 32. 20; 55. 19; 57. 13; 74. 19; 91. 3; 130. 12; 131. 10; 145. 16; 155; 166. 16; 174. 7; 184. 6; 191. 13; 207. 1; 224. 12; 232. 17; 243. 12; 247. 3; 249. 11; 256. 13; 291. 7; 297. 5; 313. 11; 321. 6; 324. 4; 326. 15; 327. 13; 333. 14; 336. 8; 339. 18; 340. 21; 342. 7; 352. 16; 389. 14; 400. 6; 404. 8; 455. 3; 456. 8; 457. 10; 457. 20; 472. 12; 496. 7; 497. 12, 15; 499. 14; 500. 10; 500. 13; 506. 15; *Subhūticandra:* pp. 26. ll. 16; 27. 3; 29. 18; 32. 20; 35. 12; 60. 7; 64. 14; 86. 5; 92. 4; 113. 18; 114. 16; 116. 16; 119. 6; 124. 20; 126. 19; 131. 16; 141. 15; 155; 166. 18; 174. 7; 174. 20; 180. 16; 193. 13; 202. 1; 230. 6; 252. 3; 297. 6; 313. 10; 321. 13; 326. 16; 334. 8; 335. 5; 346. 9; 352. 1; 389. 17; 398. 3; 400. 6; 402. 8; 404. 2; 455. 3; 457. 7; 458. 2; 472. 11; 472. 16; 487. 4; 488. 8; 497. 16; 499. 16; 500. 20; 503. 11; 506. 15; *Smṛti:* pp. 31. 11; 141. 18; 160. 2; 306. 20; *Svara prakaraṇa* (from some music work): pp. 193. *Svāmin:* pp. 22. ll. 11; 177; 184. 6; 224. 12; 234. 18; 238. 8; 246. 2; 249., 15; 285. 12; 306. 9; 308. 21; 336. 8; 472. 12, 20; 501. 1; Haradatta (Padamañjarī): pp. 360. ll. 18; 485. 15; *Haradattācārya, Vedabhāṣyakartā:* pp. 489. ll. 4.

अत्र वेदभाष्यकर्ता हरदत्ताचार्यः—राजा मनुष्यपूर्वत्वे शालवचस्यापि ? भवति ।

(See Note above under *Vedabhāṣya* by Haradatta). *Halāyudha:* pp. 263. ll. 16;

Besides these, many anonymous quotations also occur, such as those from the Gitā, Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Śivamahimnasstava, Bhatṛhari Śataka, Nāgānanda and Ratnāvali, and Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta.

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A few noteworthy points

1. P. 429. line 1. Appayārya gives here the number of verses in the *Amara* in the Avyaya section.

आङित्यव्ययवर्गीयश्लोका नेत्रपयोधयः ।
चिराद्यव्ययवर्गीयश्लोका अष्टोत्तरा दश ॥
नानार्थाव्ययसंयुक्तास्तु चत्वारिंशदधित्रितौ । (?)

Nānārtha Avyayas begin with the second half of śl. 239, III Kāṇḍa, Nānārtha varga; The verses in this section are 18½; the verses in the Avyaya varga which follows number 23 according to the text commented upon by Bhānuji. 'Ānityādi' refers to the Nānārtha avyayas and 'Cirādi' refers to the Avyayas of the Avyaya varga. We do not know the exact application of the numbers given by Appayārya.

2. Besides this, Appayārya says on p. 411, line 7, that some commentators did not have and did not offer any comments on a certain passage which therefore seems to have been considered an interpolation. The passage in question is on the Avyayas रे and अरे and must have been found as 'Adhika pāṭha' in some Mss. in III. 4. 19, between the first and second lines.

3. P. 485 line 15. It is yet an unsettled question whether Haradatta who wrote the Padamañjarī is the same as the Śaivite writer of that name. Appayārya thinks that the two are identical:

पथः संख्याव्ययादेरित्यत्र पदमञ्जरीकारः शिवभक्तः हरदत्ताचार्यः ।

V. Raghavan

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Helārāja, not a Disciple of Bhartṛhari

In the preface to his edition of the Prakīrṇa Kāṇḍa of the *Vākyapadīya*, Trivandrum Series, No. 116, p. 4, K. Sambasiva Sastri observes: "It is not known when the commentator lived. But from the following two quotations which are ascribed to his Guru,

(1) तथा च—

"तां प्रातिपदिकार्थं च धात्वर्थं च प्रचक्षते" इति सत्त्वैव भावशब्दवाच्या गुरवः क्रियेति मन्यन्ते इति'।

(2) तथा चोक्तं गुरुभिः—

द्वेर्विनः परिमाणाख्याद्दशदर्थात्तदित्यतः।
शतिजस्येति सङ्घाते दाशतेति निपातनात्॥

and of which the first is traceable in the *Vākyapadīya*, he may be taken to be a disciple of Bhartṛhari himself. As the date of Bhartṛhari is said to be the latter half of the 7th century A.D., the same date may be assigned to his disciple Helārāja also".

I propose to give here some evidence which disproves this view that Helārāja was a disciple of Bhartṛhari. In a number of places in the *Prakīrṇaprakāśa*, his commentary on the Prakīrṇa Kāṇḍa, Helārāja notes variants in the reading and differences in the interpretation of the text. He also refers to previous commentators as केचित् or अन्ये This shows that the *Vākyapadīya* had been commented upon by many others before him. These differences in readings and interpretation could not have cropped up so soon in Helārāja's time if he were a disciple of Bhartṛhari; nor could there be any reason making him note these differences with regard to a text received by him directly from his Guru, the author. He must have therefore been separated from the author of the *Vākyapadīya*, the great Bhartṛhari, by a sufficient length of time.

We have really no evidence at present to fix the date of Helārāja with certainty. On the one hand there is the significant fact that in spite of a large number of references to Mīmāṃsā doctrines in his commentary on the Prakīrṇa, there is no mention of Kumārila or for the matter of that, of any other Mīmāṃsaka posterior to Kūmārila; nor is there a reference to Śaṃkara, although the Advaitic view is often expounded. Of course it is to be noted that the exposition of Advaita here is, as it should be, in accordance with the view of Bhartṛhari. It represents the pre-Śaṃkara phase of this

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philosophical thought. But in spite of his immense indebtedness to Bhartṛhari, Śaṃkara's position from his very appearance in the field has been such that no Advaitic writer after him could afford to ignore him. That Helārāja was a Buddhist is the view of some arm-chair orientalists who have had no patience with his work. The evidence against this is so overwhelming that the view does not deserve even a passing consideration. I shall deal with it *in extenso* in a separate paper where I shall also give evidence against an equally erroneous view which regards Bhartṛhari, the great pre-Śaṃkara Advaitin as a Buddhist. To set at rest for the present the curiosity of these theorists I may here draw their attention to p. 86 of the Benares edition of the *Prakīrṇakāṇḍa* (1933) where occurs the following remark by Helārāja:

यद्यपि शाक्यादिदर्शने नित्यं न भवति द्रव्यं तथापि तन्मतस्यानभ्युपगमाददोषः ।

To return to the present subject. On the other hand, the earliest known reference now to Helārāja is by Mādhava (14th Century) in his *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*. His *Prakīrṇaprakāśa* contains some quotations. No definite statement with regard to his date can be made unless an attempt is made to trace these to possible sources.

The date which Sambasiva Sastri assigns to Bhartṛhari, is not acceptable. Bhartṛhari must be much earlier than this (See Dr. Kunhan Raja's paper "I-tsing and Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*", *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 285 ff.).

I now give below from the *Prakīrṇaprakāśa* some passages which note differences in readings and interpretation and which clearly show that the commentator was not a contemporary of the author:

क्वचित्पाठः—

तथा सम्बन्धिसम्बन्धसंसर्गोऽपि प्रतीयते । इति । तत्रापि सम्बन्धिना सर्वसत्ता-धारेण सम्बध्यन्त इति सम्बन्धात् द्रव्यादिशक्तयः । तासां सम्बन्धानां शक्तीनामन्योन्य-संसर्गोऽप्यात्मभूत एवेति व्याख्या । (Pp. 24-25, Benares edn.).

पूर्वं तु—

लक्षणा शब्दसंस्कारो व्यापारः कार्यसिद्धये । इति पठन्तो लक्षणा द्रव्योपलक्षणं तत्र शब्दसंस्कारमात्रोपयोगिद्रव्योपादानमिति तद्विषयत्वाच्छब्दसंस्कारो लक्षणेति सामानाधिकरण्यं व्याचक्षते । (p. 44).

अत्र केचित् 'क्रियायामङ्गभावस्य' इति पठन्तः प्रथमं क्रियायामङ्गभावस्य विधिरिति योजितवन्तः । (p. 49).

अत एव संख्यायाः क्वचिदव्यापारलक्षणो धर्मस्तेन लिङ्गेन गम्यत इत्यकारप्रश्लेषं केचिद्व्याचक्षते किल । (p. 55).

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केचित्पुनराहुः—सगुण इत्येतदेव स्फुटीकृतं सहैकत्वेनेति। अत्र तु पौनरुक्त्यं दोषः। न हि कारिकाभागस्य भागान्तरेण व्याख्यानं युक्तम्। (p. 58).

अन्ये व्याचक्षते। घटज्ञानाद्बाह्यविषयादघटज्ञानमित्येवं ज्ञानं ज्ञानभिन्नं न विषयप्रविष्टं ... ... ।

अन्ये तु व्याचक्षते। घटज्ञानमिति ज्ञानं विषयो यस्य तत् घटज्ञानविलक्षणम्। (p. 82-83).

नीललोहितपीताद्यैस्तद्वर्णमुपलभ्यते। इत्यपरोऽत्रागमपाठः (p. 117).

तेनाकर्तृकर्मणी आश्रयो यस्याः साधनाधीनजन्मत्वादित्युभयमपि पाठे ... ... ।

पुनश्च कर्मभावेन तमिति क्वचित्पाठः। (p. 119).

केचिद्व्याचक्षते नायं पूर्वशब्दो देशं देशरूपेण कथयति ... ... ।

(p. 161).

अन्ये नगादीनां सावयवानां छायातपाभ्यां भागभेदः प्रकल्पते ... ... इति व्याचक्षते।

(p. 165).

There are a few more passages of this kind. But I think the above are sufficient to bear out my view.

The term 'Guru' does not mean 'preceptor' alone. It means also 'revered' or 'learned'. For instance, in the following line Bhartṛhari refers to Patañjali as Guru but the latter was not the formers' preceptor.

कृते ऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरूणा तीर्थदर्शिना।

(*Vākyapadīya*, 2. 485).

Bhartṛhari is one of the greatest *philosophers* India has produced. To the modern orientalists he is known more as the greatest grammarian after Patañjali. But when a careful and exhaustive study of the *Vākyapadīya* is made, and the philosophical content of the work is brought home to the generality of orientalists who cannot have access to it at present, the world of scholars will know to what extent Gauḍapāda, Maṇḍana, Śaṃkara and others are indebted to this philosopher. Ancient India held this great philosopher in high reverence. Eminent Śaivas like Abhinavagupta refer to him as Bhagavān. It is therefore proper that the commentator Helārāja should refer to him as Guru. The commentary ends with a reference to him as जगतां गुरुः

सूक्तिश्रियः स्फुटा एता जयन्ति जगतां गुरोः।
हरेर्भाष्याब्धिपीयूषच्छटाच्छुरितविग्रहाः॥

I would like also to draw here attention of scholars to an important name occurring in the present Helārājīya. It is found both in a Ms. (a

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modern paper transcript, No. 39. H. 25) of the Adyar Library and also in the printed edition (Benares). On p. 198 of the Benares edition there is the following remark:

इतो ग्रन्थपातसंधानाय फुल्लराजकृतिर्लिख्यते ।

Again on p. 214 there is the remark:

इहापि पतितग्रन्थो हेलाराजकृतिः फुल्लराजकृत्या संधीयते ।

These remarks are found also in pp. 612 and 663, respectively, of the Adyar Library Ms. In the latter instance it occurs here as Bhullarāja, which is probably a scribal error. It cannot be that in all these places 'Phullarāja' is a mistake for 'Puṇyarāja'. It is clear from these remarks that one Phulkarāja has also commented upon the *Vākyapadīya*. The name is not found anywhere else. An attempt is worth making to unearth the commentary. It is not known who filled in the gaps. The real extent of the gaps is also unknown. Future editors of the work will have to note this fact. Some old manuscripts of the *Prakīrṇaprakāśa* have been collected by K. Sambasiva Sastri for the edition of the work in the Trivandrum Series (vide his preface). May we not therefore hope that the editor of the further portion of this important work (only a part has now been published) in the Series will throw some light on this problem?

K. Madhava Krishna Sarma

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REVIEWS

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA: ĀRANYAKA-PARVAN, critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar. Fascicules 11 and 12 (Vol. III and IV). Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1942. Pp. i-xlii, 1,110.

The fascicules 11 and 12, comprising volumes 3 and 4 of the critical edition and the third Book of the Epic, completes the Āraṇyaka-parvan, with full critical apparatus, introduction and notes, in more than 1,150 pages, having been prepared and seen through the Press by the General Editor himself. It is now full seventeen years since Sukthankar took over charge, in 1925, of the Mahābhārata work of the Bhandarkar Institute and reorganised it on its present lines, having profited by the experiment and experience of his predecessor, N. B. Utgikar. The first fascicule of the Ādi appeared in 1927, and subsequent fascicules followed at regular intervals. It is gratifying to find that, in spite of the magnitude and complexity of the work and difficulties of many kinds, the Institute is now able to publish critical editions of four whole Parvans, namely, the Ādi 1933 (V. S. Sukthankar), the Virāṭa 1936 (Raghu Vira), the Udyoga 1940 (S. K. De) and the Āraṇyaka 1942 (V. S. Sukthankar). In addition to this, the Sabhā, edited by F. Edgerton, has nearly the whole text, with its critical apparatus, already printed off, and is expected to be published in the near future; while the press-copy of the Bhīṣma, edited by S. K. Belvalkar, is almost ready and is being revised finally. Thus, during the period of seventeen years ,the Institute, under the general editorship of Sukthankar, dealt with the first *six* Parvans of the Great Epic, namely, the Ādi, Sabhā, Āraṇyaka, Virāṭa, Udyoga and Bhīṣma. All this comprises nearly one-fourth of the entire text; but in bulk it is four times as great as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* put together, and about one and half times as great as the *Rāmāyaṇa;* while in the difficulty of critically editing the text, it perhaps yields to none of the great epics mentioned. The General Editor can legitimately take pride in what he modestly characterises as "no mean achievement"; and when we consider the high standard of workmanship displayed throughout, there can be no question that even what is so far accomplished is a great achievement.

But in the midst of this satisfactory state of affairs, an unforeseen calamity happens, and the happy completion of the present Book of the *Mahābhārata* becomes associated with a deeply melancholy incident. Its

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publication almost synchronised with the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute, held on the 4th and 5th of January, 1943, at which the volume, marking the end of the first stage of the vast work, was formally presented. But very soon after this, on the 21st January, occurred the sad and sudden death of the General Editor, Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar, in the midst of his achievement and actually in harness, after a brief illness lasting only for a few hours. We could not afford to lose him in the maturity of his powers; for he had given us great things but we expected even greater things from him. He was not only our great Pathikṛt in the critical study of the *Mahābhārata* text, but also a great scholar who vindicated the prestige of Indian scholarship in the eyes of the world. In the light of his passing away, the concluding portion of his Introduction to the present work reads almost like taking a final farewell. But it is extremely depressing to think that he will be here no more to lead the little party of explorers, among whom the present reviewer had the privilege of counting himself as one, through what he himself calls "the big forest" of epic textual complexities to "the yet distant Utopia of a complete critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*". One of his colleagues, who knew him well, rightly says that "personally Dr. Sukthankar himself would have considered his untimely death as a far less tragedy than the stopping of his great work in the history of critical scholarship in India, and it behoves every one concerned to exert his best to see that the splendid record which he established at the Institute by seventeen years of brilliant, sustained work shall not be left to mould or be spoiled by uncritical handling".

The Āraṇyaka-Parvan itself, with its vast and rich content, is a gigantic forest of ancient Indian myths and legends, but we can think of no better and surer guide than the General Editor himself. The episodic, legendary matter covered by this Book is largely Purāṇic in character, which constitutes its value, being as important and indispensable as the didactic and philosophic matter of the Śānti and Anuśāsana in understanding the basic plan and distinctive character of the Epic. It is rightly pointed out that such episodic material, in general, is not subsequent elaboration, secondarily introduced, but must have formed a part of the original plan to serve the purpose of filling up what are called "temporal hiatuses" in the narrative, namely, the twelve years' exile in the forest and the long interval between the Bhārata War and the last adventures of the Pāṇḍavas. Many of these stories and legends are also found narrated in the Purāṇas, chiefly in the

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Skanda, Padma and *Brahma;* but the parallelism of verbal expression of Epic and Purāṇic narratives is so close and striking that the possibility of their having originated independently of each other is distinctly ruled out. On examination it is found that the Āraṇyaka account of Pulastya Tīrtha-yātrā, in the same way as the cosmological and geographical account of the Bhīṣma, appears to be the source of the Padma-Purāṇa version. Again, the Skanda-Purāṇa version of the 108 names of the Sun appears to be a replica of the Mahābhārata text of the Āraṇyaka passage. There may be a few cases, like the Story of Sāvitrī (which occurs also in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*,) where the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas may have drawn independently from a common third source; but in most cases it appears that the compilers of our late versions of the Purāṇas have drawn their material from the Mahā-bhārata narratives. It is noteworthy in this connexion, on the other hand, that the Rāmopākhyāna of the Āraṇyaka, as Jacobi pointed out long ago (against Hopkins), is now found to be an epitome of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Of all the stories in the Āraṇyaka, the most interesting and important are the Tale of Nala, the Ṛsyaśṛṇga Legend and the Story of Sāvitrī, and they are now critically edited here for the first time. The average reader will probably miss the piquant episode of the Temptation of Arjuna by Urvaśī, now relegated to the Appendix (I, no. 6; 162 lines); but it is rightly excluded from the critical text on documentory and intrinsic evidence. The same remark applies to the omission, in the critical text, of certain lengthy Vaiṣṇavite interpolations, namely, the story of the killing of Naraka by Viṣṇu and the rescue of the Earth by the Boar Incarnation (App. I, no. 16; 128 lines), and the somewhat jejune episode of the Visit of Durvāsas to Yudhiṣṭhira, along with an alarming crowd of hungry mendi-cants, and the miraculous suspension of their hunger by Kṛṣṇa (App. I, no 25; 154 lines), as well as the naive passage on Karṇa's conquest of the world (App. I, no. 24; 102 lines). The number of such more or less lengthy passages, relegated to the Appendix, is 31, that of small passages, given in the footnotes, 1388; and yet the present critical text reaches the enor-mous dimension of 16 Sub-parvans and 299 Adhyāyas. The verses are not, for certain reasons, computed by the Editor, but the number is probably not less than 7,000. The Critical Edition, however, by its purging of undoubt-ed accretions, presents the *shortest* text, when compared with those of the previous Calcutta, Bombay and Madras editions, which vary between 11,000 to 13,000 verses and consists generally of 315 Adhyāyas.

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The constituted text of the Āraṇyaka (it is noteworthy that no MS calls it Vana!) is based on 28 manuscripts, at the head of which stands the unique and valuable birch-bark Śāradā Codex, which was used with great advantage also for the Ādi ,and which presents here also the best and shortest extant version of the Parvan. The utilisation of this old and genuine Kāśmīrī MS is a most fortunate circumstance, for the Śāradā version is now recognised to be, in many respects, the most faithful representative of the original now extant. It compensates, in this Parvan, the lack of the important testimonium of Devabodha's oldest commentary, which for other Parvans where it is available, is found to be closely allied to the Śāradā-K version. The other versions represented in the critical apparatus are: "K" (4 MSS), Bengali (4), Devanāgarī, including the versions of Caturbhuja and Nīlakaṇṭha (11), Telugu (2), Grantha (4) and Malayālam (2). Of the eleven Devanāgarī (D) MSS, at least three (D1-3), on the Editor's own showing, can be classified as K; but this is balanced by the fact that K2 and K4, if not K1, are so heavily conflated that they might as well be classified as D MSS. Indeed, K and D, both being non-homogenous groups and written in Devanāgarī, present the greatest difficulty for exact classification of individual MSS. As Malayāḷam is undoubtedly the best of the Southern versions, it is unfortunate that not more than two Malayālam MSS (and they are not admittedly the best of the type) could be found and utilised. The important evidence of the Javanese version, which also could not be found, is, unfortunately again, missing for this Parvan. Arjunamiśra's commentary was occasionally consulted, but since no good MSS were available, its readings could not be given, nor fully utilised.

In spite of these handicaps, it must be said that the text of the Āraṇyaka is quite satisfactorily constituted. Comparatively speaking, the text of this Parvan is remarkably smooth, and offers no extraordinary difficulties. This may be seen from the paucity of important variants and of the editorial wavy line indicative of disconcerting parallelism and uncertainty. The many large and small additions are neatly inserted passages which can be removed without damage to the text, while the inevitable discrepancies between the recensions and versions are not exceptional but quite normal. There are, as the Editor points out, no transpositions of any consequence and very few "substitute" passages, that is to say, passages parallel in general sense but worded divergently, as we have them so much in the

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Virāṭa. But there is one noteworthy fact. The Southern Recention (S) in this Parvan, though considerably inflated in itself, is not longer, as we have it in Ādi and Virāṭa, but actually much smaller than the Northern Vulgate, which contains fourteen whole Adhyāyas entirely lacking in S. This fact is interesting, for it shows that the process of inflation is not uniform throughout the Epic, and that each Parvan has its own distinctive textual features. The individual characteristics of the various versions in this Parvan, however, are almost the same as they are in the case of other Parvans already published, with perhaps the slight exception that Southern Grantha here appears to be much more contaminated from the Northern Recension.

The Editor's long, intensive and mature experience, his skill, scholarship and alertness, his mastery of critical methods and soundness of judgment, to which we are accustomed ever since the publication of his edition of the Ādi, are fully maintained in this edition of the Āraṇyaka. It is sad to reflect that it is the last great work that we get from him but it will, with Ādi, remain as an illustrious monument of what Indian scholarship can achieve in this difficult sphere, and as a solid reminder of his unflagging zeal, singleness of devotion and prolonged scholarly activity, which truly and firmly laid the foundations of the stupendous Mahābhārata work.

S. K. De

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE RĀMĀYANA, by N. A. Gore, M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, S. P. College, Poona. Published by the Author, Poona 1943. Pp. vi, 99.

This small work is an interesting and useful contribution to Epic Studies. Even if tentative and imperfect, it is conceived in the proper spirit, and makes the right beginning towards the compilation of bibliographical material, which the growing vastness and extremely specialised character of every branch of oriental study necessitates. The work gives a compilation of most of the noteworthy publications on the Rāmāyaṇa, including in its scope Text-editions, Translations, Adaptations, and Critical and and Literary Notices or Studies in journals or separate publications. In some cases the compiler adds short notes on the general content or substance of important works or articles. The number of entries is 366. But even a cursory glance through the work reveals some important omissions, e.g.,

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Haraprasad Shastri's Preface to his *Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. v (Calcutta 1928), in which the learned Shastri discusses many questions relating to the Rāmāyaṇa; H. C. Raychaudhuri in *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 24-35, on the relation of the two Epics; V. Narayan Aiyar in *JOR*, xi, on the Nalopākhyāna and Sundarakāṇḍa, etc. The British Museum (Haas and Barnett), India Office (Prananath and Chaudhuri), and Berlin (Gottschalk) Catalogues, as well as the Union List (Emeneau), of Printed Books should have been consulted for revision and enrichment; and even the older Bibliography of Gildmeister cannot be overlooked. A section on Rāmāyaṇa MSS can also be usefully added. The references to publications in Indian languages other than Marathi are naturally not complete. These deficiencies need not, however, be exaggerated in a first attempt, which is laudable indeed. A beginning has been made, and let us hope that our young and enthusiastic author will, in due course, make his Bibliography as exhaustive and indispensable as possible.

S. K. De

BHĀRATER SAṂSKṚTI (Bengali) by Ksitimohan Sen, (*Viśvavidyā-saṃgraha* no. 2) Visvabharati Book Depôt, Calcutta. Pages double crown one-sixteenth 76, 1943.

In this brochure Prof. Sen has traced in broad outlines the characteristic development of Indian culture from its component elements: Aryan and non-Aryan as well as native and foreign. With an array of well-chosen facts and arguments he has shown what a great debt we owe to our pre-Aryan forefathers for our present day culture and how on account of a singularly catholic view of life which came from these non-Aryan forerunners, Indian culture stands foremost in the world as regards its high idealism and deep sympathy for humanity. Though this work treats mostly of religious and philosophical questions, important sociological facts of ancient Hindu life have not been overlooked. In it one will find, with a brief treatment the origin and development of Indian religious mysticism much original discussion about the survival of various pre-Aryan rites and customs along with Aryan heritage of similar types. For example from Prof. Sen one learns for the first time that our *śrāddha* ceremony is almost entirely of pre-Aryan origin. Clear and convincing arguments emphasising the synthetic character of Indian culture, which he had so ably compressed

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into small volume will, it may be expected, open up new avenues of research in Indian cultural origin. We are thankful to Prof. Sen for this very valuable work which though written for general readers will be read with much interest and profit even by specialists.

MONOMOHAN GHOSH

THE ART OF WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA by P. C. Chakravarti M.A. (Dac.), Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by the University of Dacca. 1941.

In spite of the emphasis given to philosophical and religious aspects of Indian culture by western scholars and their disciples, ancient Indian people cannot by any means be considered to have been averse to various worldly pursuits. Hence an historical enquiry into the art of fighting in ancient India very legitimably demands the attention of scholars. Pioneer work done by Gustav Oppert on the subject some sixty years ago (*On the Weapons, Army Organisation and Political Maxims of the Ancient Hindus*, 1880.) has already been antiquated with the discovery of new materials, literary as well as archæological; and other workers in the field such as Hopkins and Ray touched only parts of the subject. Hence we are to welcome Dr. Chakravarti's work giving us mostly an exhaustive and up-to-date treatment of this very fascinating aspect of ancient Indian culture. In it the author has discussed the following topics: (Ch. I) The Army and a general sketch of its composition, (II) Strength of Armies, (III) the Infantry, (IV) War chariots, (V) the Cavalry, (VI) Elephants (VII) Naval War-fare, (VIII) Military espionage, (IX) Military administration, (X) Army on the march, (XI) The Camp. (XII) Army in the field, (XIII) Fortification and Siege-craft, (XIV) On Arms and Armour. Undoubtedly the work removes a longfelt want, for an adequate knowledge of the various means and methods of fighting which in India, as anywhere else, was one of the principle occupations of people, we may fail to appreciate the material basis of Indian civilization and this failure may be detrimental to a proper understanding of the spirit and meaning of our ancient culture. Hence we sincerely congratulate Dr. Chakravarti on the production of this very useful and interesting work. A good bibliography and index have added to the value of the work and its printing and get up are also excellent.

MONOMOHAN GHOSH

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PESHWA MADHAVA RAO I by A. C. Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S., Professor, City College, Calcutta, published by A. Mukherjee & Bros., Calcutta.

A student of Indo-British history thinks that the most important factor of eighteenth century Indian History is the rise of the British power in its second half. An observer, in the eighteenth century, on the other hand, must have been impressed by two quite different trends—the gradual weakening and then the collapse of the Mughal power and the steady growth of the Maratha power as also its almost inevitable decline. Irvine and Sarkar have given us a complete story of the decline of the Mughal power. Grant Duff gave us an authoritative account of the Marathas long ago. But Sardesai, Khare and other devoted scholars have made available to us a mass of information on Maratha history not available before, necessitating a start anew. The mass of material is now so overwhelming that even a very assiduous scholar must feel satisfied if he can write a learned monograph covering a decade in five years. He cannot otherwise hope to be exhaustive.

Mr. A. C. Banerjee deals with the history of the greatest of the Peshwas, whose early death precipitated the inevitable decline of the Maratha power. He has collected his data with great care and caution and has presented his materials in a very attractive manner. Many dark corners have been lighted up. Raghunath Rao, Janoji Bhonsle, Nizam Ali, Haidar Ali, Mahadji Sindhia, Nana Fadnavis and other historical personalities can be seen from a new angle of vision. The factual basis of Maratha history between 1761-1772 is securely laid for years to come.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

STUDIES ON SOME CONCEPTS OF THE ALAṄKĀRA ŚĀSTRA by V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras. The Adyar Libraty Series—No. 33. The Adyar Library, Adyar, 1942.

The book contains a collection of papers of Dr. Raghavan, published in different oriental journals, concerning historical investigation on the growth and development of a number of concepts in Sanskrit Poetics, e.g., lakṣaṇa, svabhāvokti, bhāvika, rīti, vṛtti, aucitya and camatkāra. Two interesting chapters deal with the use and abuse of alaṅkāra in Sanskrit

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literature and the evolution of the names of Sanskrit Poetics, which in its early stages, it is shewn, was called Kriyākalpa. A good deal of valuable information relating to various principles of literary criticism as known to and expounded by Indian savants of different ages will be found scattered through the pages of the book. Thus, though apparently written for Sanskritists, the book, at least some of the chapters, may be read with profit by all people possessing a taste for literature, if they take the trouble of passing over the numerous Sanskrit quotations and tolerating occasional Sanskritic expressions found in it. With an eye to the convenience of comparative study and clarity of expression reference has been made from time to time to the views of western writers. For a correct appreciation of the view-points of the old rhetoricians the learned author has consulted not only most of the printed Sanskrit texts and modern studies based on them, but also a number of manuscripts belonging to the Madras Oriental Library.

It is hoped the book will draw the attention of readers to many an interesting problem and arouse a keen interest in further investigations leading to the publication of a comprehensive work on Indian Poetics, catering to the needs of the cultured reader in general.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Calcutta Review, February, 1943

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—*Dharmavijaya and Dhaṃmavijaya.* The term *Dharmavijaya* used in the *Mahābhārata* and the treatises on polity means a conquest where the conqueror has no greed for other's territory and is satisfied simply with the recognition of his suzerainty by the opponent. For the achievement of this end, the use of force is not forbidden. The conception of *Cakkavatti* in the *Dīgha Nikāya* gives an idea of *Dhaṃmavijaya* as found in the Buddhist canonical literature. This kind of conquest (vijaya) is to be effected by means of a superior moral power only. In the *Dhammavijaya* as promulgated by Aśoka in his Rock Edicts, the use of any kind of force against any one is altogether prohibited and even a pursuit after fame and glory is deprecated. These three concepts of *Dharmavijaya* have been analysed in this paper and their inter-relation discussed.

Ibid., March, 1943

SRI RAM SARMA.—*Administration of Justice in the Mughal Empire.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XXVIII, pt. 4 (December, 1942)

A. C. PERUMALIL.—*A Few Christian Writers on Early India.* Continued from the previous issue of the Journal, the paper shows that the Greek and Roman writers of the early period ranging from the time of Alexander the Great to the fall of Alexandria in 641 A.C. had a fairly accurate knowledge about the geography of India. Their writings contain descriptions of plants, animals, and people of the country. Accounts left by several ecclesiastical writers have been discussed in this instalment of the paper, showing that these authors committed no mistake in regard to the identity of India as some modern European writers have opined.

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI.—*The Indian Cow-herd God.* The article is in support of the view that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was a deity of Ābhīra origin. The theory of Christian borrowings in the concept of Kṛṣṇa is rejected on the ground that there is a fundamental difference between the cult

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of Bāla-Gopāla and the conception of child Jesus, the former having no room for the mother in the cult and the latter being essentially an exaltation of the Mother. The Puranic story of Kṛṣṇa's opposition to the festival held in honour of the Brahmanical deity Indra and his advocacy for a primitive type of nature-worship and animal-worship instead are regarded as evidence of the tribal nature of the religion that was preached by him. It is suggested that Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa was a tribal hero of the nomadic Gopas, being later on identified with the earlier epic hero Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

BIMANBIHARI MAJUMDAR.—*Bhaṇitās in Vidyāpati's Padas. Bhaṇitās* are the personal reflections introduced by an author towards the end of his song or poem. A statistical analysis of the *Bhaṇitās* found in different manuscripts of the poems of Vidyāpati has been attempted here. This will be helpful in picking out the genuine ones from among the vast number of Padas that are attributed to the great mediaeval poet of Mithilā.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1942, pt. 2

ILYA GERSHEVITCH.—*On the Sogdian Vessantara Jātaka.*

DORA GORDINE.—*A Lecture on the Sculpture of Indo-China, Siam and Java.*

Karnataka Historical Review, vol. VI, pts. 1 & 2

R. S. PANCHAMUKHI.—*Jainism in Karṇāṭaka and Bhaṭkaḷ Finds.* A survey of Bhaṭkaḷ Peṭhā and its surroundings on the West coast of the Bombay Karṇāṭaka area has resulted in the discovery of various objects of Jain antiquity like the bronze and stone images of the Jain pantheon and lithic records bearing on the management and conduct of Jain worship in the Jain *basadi*. An account of the state of Jainism obtaining in the area has been given on the basis of the data furnished by the new finds.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. V, no. 10 (January, 1943)

JAGAN NATH.—*The Haraha Inscription and the Epoch of the Gupta Era.* In this reply to the rejoinder of Mr. Dhirendra Nath Mookerjee, the writer sticks to his stand contending that "the Haraha Inscription does not contain any information that can upset the epoch of the Gupta era as determined by Fleet, and subsequently modified by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar."

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S. R. Balasubrahmanyan.—*Nandivarman II and the Siege of Nandipuram.* The Udayendiram Plates of the reign of Nandivarman II Pallava Malla contain the information that Nandivarman II was besiged in Nandipuram by the Dramila Princes. Evidence has been adduced to show that this Nandipuram known also as Āyirattali was a fortified Coḷa capital near Kumbakonam. Palaiāṛu formed a part of Nandipuram.

Dhirendra Nath Mookerjee.—*The Kṛta Era.* Arguments are here put forward in support of the writer's contention that the Gupta era was started in 58 B.C. and Kṛta era 400 years earlier about 450 B.C. when the Mālava Republic was established,—an event which was considered by the Mālavas as marking "the ushering in of the Kṛta or Golden Age."

Nagpur University Journal, no. 7 (December 1941)

H. C. Seth.—*The Age of Zoroaster and the Ṛgveda.* A close affinity is shown to exist between the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* and the Gāthās of Zoroaster who has been assigned in the paper to the 6th century B.C. The Vedas and the Avesta alike contain, in the opinion of the writer, reference to a number of persons and events of the time. The conclusion is reached therefore that certain hymns of the *Ṛgveda* belong to this period.

V. V. Mirashi.—*New Light on the History of the Paramāra Dynasty.* The emended reading of an expression in a line of the Nagpur Museum Stone Inscription together with the corroborative evidence of a newly discovered record found incised on the architrave of an old temple at Ḍoṅgargaon in the Yeotmal district of Berar gives clue to the fact that Mālwā was invaded after Bhoja's death by a confederacy of powers formed, it is surmised, by king Karṇa of the Kalacuri dynasty, Someśvara II of the later Cālukya dynasty and Udayāditya of the Western Gaṅga dynasty as the leading members. Jayasiṃha, the ruling Paramāra king of the time succumbed to this attack, but Udayāditya, a brother of Bhoja as known from the Ḍoṅgargaon inscription, rescued the Paramāra kingdom from the hands of the enemies. The Doṅgargaon record reveals the fact that Udayāditya nominated his youngest son Jagaddeva to the Paramāra throne, which the latter relinquished in favour of this elder brother Lakṣmadeva.

Hiralal Jain.—*Paiśācī Traits in the Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*

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from Chinese Turkestan. The language of the Kharoṣṭhī records discovered in Chinese Turkestan conforming largely to the peculiarities of the Paiśācī dialect of the Prakrit grammarians seems to be a variety of the Prakrit that is said to have been spoken by the Bhūtas and Piśācas belonging to the tribes of the North-Western border of India.

S. P. CHATURVEDI.—*On References to Earlier Grammarians in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Forms sanctioned by them*. Pāṇini mentions opinions of Pūrvācāryas in the cases where he differs from them. An alphabetical list of these Ācāryas with descriptive notes on the forms allowed by them has been appended.

Poona Orientalist, vol. VII, nos. 1 & 2 (April & July, 1942)

HAR DUTT SHARMA.—*Paraśurāmapratāpa*. The *Paraśurāmapratāpa* is a voluminous work in 16 kāṇḍas dealing with the general topics of Dharmaśāstra. Its real author Kūrmasūri applied his industry and scholarship to the work for the sake of his pupil Pratāparāja who had been under the patronage of 'Nizam Shah of Ahmadpur' identified by some with Burhan Shah Nizam Shah ruling in Ahmadnagar in the middle of the 16th century. The mss. of the work deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute have been described here and a list of treatises and authors mentioned in it has been appended. The importance of the list lies in the fact that many of the names found in it are quite unknown.

R. SHAMASHASTRI.—*The Pañcajanas*. The writer of the paper is inclined to hold many of the stories and statements in the Vedas and Purāṇas as referring to various astronomical phenomena. The *Pañcajanas* mentioned in Vedic literature are, according to him, five minor planets.

SADASIVA L. KATRE.—*A Family of Learned Authors on Jyautiṣa*. Passages in the *Tājakasārasudhānidhi*, an astrological work by Nārāyaṇa, contain details about the literary activities of the author and two other members of his family Dādābhaṭṭa and Mādhava. These scholars of the 18th century made a fair contribution to one or other branch of Jyotiḥśāstra.

G. N. CHAKRAVARTHY.—*Poetry and Romanticism in the Ṛgveda*.

P. K. GODE.—*Karpūrīya Śivadatta and his Medical Treatises between A.D. 1625 and 1700*.

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E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN.—*Narendrapurī, a forgotten Advaitin.* Narendra is quoted in the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* as a commentator on Prakāśātman's famous *Vivaraṇa.* He is also known to have written on the Sārasvata system of grammar. It is conjectured that he had commented on the Upaniṣadbhāṣyas of Śaṅkara. A manuscript of a *ṭippaṇa* definitely written by him on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* is available in the Madras Oriental Mss. Library. This work of Narendrapurī deserves a careful study inasmuch as the author is earlier than Ānandagiri, the well-known interpreter of Śaṅkara's *bhāṣyas.*

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI.—*Tithiviveka of Śūlapāṇi.* The editing of this Smṛti work is completed in this instalment.

M. M. PATKAR.—*Śabdaratnāvalī.* The *Śabdaratnāvalī* is a Sanskrit lexicon by Mathureśa who compiled his work under the patronage of Musa Khān, a Muslim chief of Bengal in the early 17th century.

H. C. SETH.—*The Date of the Bhārata Battle.* The great conflict between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas is surmised to have taken place when the Brāhmaṇa literature is believed to have been in the midst of its development in the 6th century B.C.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol. XXXIII, nos. 2 & 3
(October, 1942 & January, 1943)

B. G. TAMASKAR.—*The Dharangaon Factory and Sivaji.* A factory of the East India Company at Dharangaon to the south of Burhanpur and the Tapti river was plundered by Śivaji's forces once in 1675 and again in 1679 without any order from their chief. Though friendly with these English factors, Sivaji disowned responsibility for the offence committed by his men and declined to make good the loss sustained by the company.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Līātilakam on Malayāḷam Inflections.*

M. B. NARASIMHA IYENGAR.—*Nyāyabhāskara of Anantārya.* The treatise is being translated into English.

K. S. VAIDYANATHAN.—*The Date of the Coḷa Conquest of the Bāṇa Country.* A Tamil inscription commemorates the death of a soldier when Māṇamūrti captured the cows at Poṇṇai in the third year of the reign of Parakeśarivarman (Coḷa king Parāntaka I). The find-spot of the record, Viriñcipuram in the North Arcot District, lies in the heart

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of the ancient Bāṇa territory, and Poṇṇai, the scene of the fight is identified with Poṇṇur within the same district. Māṇamūrti mentioned in the inscription might have been a general of the Coḷa king Parāntaka I who seems to have raided the Bāṇa kingdom in the 3rd year of his reign that corresponds to A.C. 910. As it is known from other sources that Parāntaka I had subdued two Bāṇa chiefs, the facts mentioned in the present record help to arrive at the conclusion that the Coḷa king Parāntaka I invaded the Bāṇa country in 910 A.C. and defeated the contemporary Bāṇa king Vijayāditya along with his son Vikramāditya.

L. K. Balaratnam.—*The Thiruvatirai Festival of Malabar.* The festival described here is annually held by the Malayalees of Kerala in the month of Pauṣa in commemoration of the destruction brought to the mythical god of love Kāmadeva by Śiva.

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Bhavabhūti

In the earlier group of great Sanskrit dramatists, Bhavabhūti is perhaps one of the youngest, but he occupies a very high place, which in Indian estimation has been often reckoned as next to that of Kālidāsa, as the author of three important plays. One of these, the *Mālatī-mādhava*[1] gives a fictitious romantic love-story of middle-class life, and the other two, the *Mahāvīra-carita*[2] and the *Uttara-rāma-carita*,[3] deal respectively with the earlier and the later history of Rāma and derive their theme from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Unlike most of his contemporaries and predecessors, Bhavabhūti is not entirely

1 Ed. R. G. Bhandarkar, with com. of Jagaddhara, Bombay Skt. Ser., 1905; ed. M. R. Telang, with comms. of Jagaddhara, Tripurāri (i-vii) and Nānyadeva (viii-x), NSP., Bombay, 1926 (1st ed. 1892). No Eng. trs., except Wilson's free rendering in *Select Specimens*, ii;; French trs. by G. Strehly, Paris 1885; German trs. by Ludwig Fritze, Leipzig 1883. One of the earliest editions is that of C. Lassen, Bonn 1832.

2 The earlier editions of Trithen (London 1848) and Anundaram Borooah (Calcutta 1877) are superseded by the critical ed., based on important manuscripts, by Todar Mall, Oxford Univ. Press, 1928 (Punjab Univ. Publ.). Also ed. T. R. Ratnam Aiyar and K. P. Parab, with comm. of Virarāghava, NSP., 3rd. ed. Bombay. 1910 (1st ed. 1892). Eng. trs. by John Pickford, London 1871.

3 Ed. T. R. Ratnam Aiyar and K. P. Parab, with comm. of Virarāghava, NSP., Bombay 1906 (1st ed. 1899); ed. with comm. of Rāmacandra Budhendra, Madras 1882; ed. P. V. Kane, with comm. of Ghanaśyāma (1st half of the 18th century; *Journal of Orient. Research*, Madras, iii, 1929, pp. 231-43), Bombay 1921; ed. C. Sankarama Sastri, with comm. of Nārāyaṇa, Balamanoṛama Press, Madras 1932; ed. S. K. Belvalkar (Text only), Poona 1921; ed. S. K. Belvalkar, vol. i, containing Trs. and Introd. only. Harvard Orient. Ser., Cambridge (Mss.) 1915. Also Eng. trs. by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta 1871; French trs. by Felix Nève, Bruxelles and Paris 1880, and by P. d'Alheim, Bois-le-roi 1906. Besides Sten Konow's *Indische Drama* (Grundriss Series, Berlin and Leipzig 1920), pp. 79-81, and M. Schuyler's *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*, New York 1906, pp. 27-31, see Schuyler in *JAOS.*, xxv, 1904, pp. 189f for fuller bibliography.

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reticent about himself. In the Prologues to his three plays he gives us some autobiographical details.[4] We are told that he belonged to a pious and learned Brahman family of the Kāśyapa Gotra, who followed and taught the Taittirīya branch of the Black Yajurveda, duly maintained the Five Fires, performed Soma sacrifices, bore the surname of Udumbara and lived in Padmapura probably in Vidarbha (the Berars). Bhavabhūti was fifth in descent from one who was called Mahākavi ('Great Poet') and who performed the Vājapeya sacrifice; and his grandfather was Bhaṭṭa Gopāla, his father Nīlakaṇṭha and his mother Jātūkarṇī. The poet himself was given the title of Śrīkaṇṭha, but commentators imagine that Bhavabhūti was also a title he won as a poet blessed with luck or the holy ashes (Bhūti) of Śiva (Bhava). His preceptor was a pious and learned ascetic, named appropriately Jñānanidhi.[5] He studied the Vedas and Upaniṣads, the Sāṃkhya and Yoga, and mastered various branches of learning, including grammar, rhetoric and logic; a statement which it is not impossible to corroborate from the knowledge displayed in his works.[6] Although a scholar and given occasionally to a love of display, Bhavabhūti seldom pushes his scholarship to the verge of pedantry. He was essentially a poet; and like his predecessor Bāṇa, he had apparently a rich and varied experience of life, and stood, as he himself tells us, in friendly relation with actors, into whose hand he gave his plays; but this latter fact need not justify the efforts that have been made to trace evidence of revision of his plays for stage-purposes. All his plays were enacted at the fair of Lord Kālapriyānātha, usually identified with Mahākāla, whose famous shrine at Ujjayinī is mentioned by Kālidāsa and Bāṇa.

Although, like Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti gives us an interesting account of himself and his family, yet, unlike Bāṇa, he says nothing about the time when he lived. He shows familiarity with court-life, but does not refer to

4 The account, scantiest in *Uttara°* and fullest in *Mahāvīra°*, is summarised and discussed by Bhandarkar, Todar Mall and Belvalkar (vol. i) in the works cited above.

5 The colophon to act iii of a manuscript of *Mālatī-mādhava* (see S. P. Pandit's introd. to *Gauḍavaho*, pp. ccv, *et seq.*) assigns the play to a pupil of Kumārila, while the colophon to act iv gives the name of this pupil as Umbekācārya. But undue weight need not be attached to the testimony of a single manuscript to prove that these acts are substitutions, or that Bhavabhūti is identical with the well known pupil and commentator of Kumārila, although chronology is not incompatible and knowledge of Mīmāṃsā not impossible to infer from the plays.

6 On Bhavabhūti's scholarship, see Keith in *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 729f. and Todar Mall, pp. xxv-xxvi, xliii-xliv; Peterson in *JBRAS.*, xviii, 1891, p. 109f.

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any royal favour. On the contrary, he is evidently distressed by the lack of contemporary appreciation of his works, and declares, with defiant but charming egotism, that there will some day arise a kindred spirit to do justice to his genius, for, 'time is boundless and the world is wide'. The inference is possible that he had to struggle hard for fame and fortune, although we do not know how far the bliss of conjugal love, which he idealises in his writings, proved a solace to him in reality.[7] In view of all this, it is surprising to find that the Kashmirian chronicler Kahlaṇa[8] mentions Bhavabhūti, along with Vākpatirāja, as having been patronised by king Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja. Obviously, this Vākpatirāja is the author of the enormous, but unfinished, Prakrit poem *Gauḍavaha,* which glorifies Yaśovarman and in which the poet acknowledges indebtedness to Bhavabhūti in eulogistic terms.[9] As this poem is presumed o have been composed about 736 A.D. before Yaśovarman's defeat and humiliation by king Lalitāditya of Kashmir,[10] it is inferred that Bhavabhūti flourished, if not actually in the court of Yaśovarman, at least during his reign, in the closing years of the 7th or the first quarter of the 8th century. This date agrees with what is known of our poet's chronological relations with other writers. He is certainly later than Kālidāsa, with whose writings he is familiar,[11] and apparently also than Bāṇa, who does not mention him. The earliest writer to eulogise Bhavabhūti (besides Vākpatirāja) is Rājaśekhara,[12] and the earliest work in which anonymous quotations from his works occur is the *Kāvyālaṃkāra*[13] of Vāmana; both these references set the lower limit of his date at the last quarter of the 8th century.

The plot of the *Mālatī-mādhava* is based on the time-worn theme of love triumphant over obstacles, but we turn pleasantly from royal courts to

7 The view that Bhavabhūti is rural, as Kālidāsa is urban, is not justified by his works.

8 *Rāja-taraṅgiṇi,* iv. 144.

9 Ed. S. P. Pandit, Bombay Skt. Ser., . '87, stanza 799 (the same reference in the revised edition by N. B. Utgikar, Poona, 1927).

10 The exact date is a matter of dispute; see Stein's note on the point in his translation of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇi,* introd. sec 85; also see the question discussed in the works of Bhandarkar, Pandit and Belvalkar (vol. i) cited above.

11 See Todar Mall, pp. xxxix-xliii, Belvalkar, vol. i, p. xl.

12 *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa,* i. 16.

13 *Kāvyā°* i. 2. 12=*Mahāvira°* i. 54; iv. 3. 6=*Uttara°* i. 38. For other citations in rhetorical and anthological literature, see Todar Mall, p. xxix; but, curiously enough, Todar Mall omits these two citations of Vāmana.

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a more plebeian atmosphere and find greater individuality of presentation. Bhavabhūti prides himself (i. 4) upon the ingenuity of his plot; to a certain extent, this is justifiable. But the general outlines of the central story and some of the striking incidents and episodes have been industriously traced to the two Kashmirian adaptations of the *Bṛhatkathā*, respectively made by Kṣemendra[14] and Somadeva,[15] with the suggestion that Bhavabhūti derived them, or at least hints of them, from Guṇāḍhya's lost work. But even granting that the coincidences[16] are not accidental, it should be recognised that the evolving of the plot as a whole, in ten acts, by a dexterous combination of varied motifs and situations is apparently the poet's own. The central interest is made to rest, not upon one love-story, but upon two parallel love-stories, skilfully blended together and crowded with such exciting and unexpected turn of incidents as is not normally found in such stories. There is also some real comic relief—a rare thing in Bhavabhūti—and a free use of the terrible, horrible and supernatural sentiments. The main plot moves round the love of Mādhava, a young student, and Mālatī, daughter of a cabinet minister; it is thwarted by the interposition of a powerful suitor in Nandana, nominated by the king; but it ends with achievement of success, partly through accidents and partly through the diplomacy of a shrewd, resourceful and kind-hearted Buddhist nun,[17] Kāmandakī, a friend and class-mate of the fathers of Mādhava and Mālatī. The by-plot, which is obviously meant to be a parallel as well as a contrast, is concerned with the love of Makaranda and Madayantikā; it is linked to the main plot by

14 xi. 9-88 (Madirāvatī); iii. 218-30; v. 100-163 (Aśokadatta).

15 xiii. 1. 17-215, (Madirāvatī); v. 2 (Aśokadatta); xviii. 2 (Madanamañjarī and Khaṇḍakapāla).

16 Such as, impersonation and marriage in disguise, meeting of lovers in a temple, rescue from a wild animal (the conventional elephant being replaced by the tiger), offering of human flesh and seeking the aid of ghosts in the cemetery, attempted immolation by a magician, abduction and rescue of the heroine, etc. But some of the motifs belong to the floating stock-in-trade of story-telling.

17 The Buddhist nun as a go-between, or more euphemistically a match-maker, is a familiar figure in Indian story-telling, and occurs in the *Daśakumāra-carita*, where she helps Apahāravarman to meet Kāmamañjarī, Ratnāvatī to regain her husband Balabhadra, and Kalahakaṇṭha to evolve the scheme of winning Nimbavatī; but in this drama she is a much more dignified person. Even if she freely discusses matters of love *a la* Kāma-śāstra, she is a sincere, wise and loving woman, who promotes the love of the young couples partly out of affection for them and partly out of the memory of her old friendship with their fathers.

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presenting Madayantikā as a sister of Mālatī's rival suitor Nandana, and by making Mādhava's friend Makaranda fall in love with her. The interweaving of the plot and the by-plot is complicated and diversified by the comic episode of the pretended marriage of Nandana to Makaranda disguised as Mālatī, as well as by two sensational escapes of Mālatī from violent death. Makaranda's impersonation, which also involves Madayantikā's mistaking him for Mālatī and confessing her own love to him unawares, ending in their elopement, is made parallel to the imposition on Mālatī, with a similar result, by Mādhava's taking the place of Mālatī's companion Lavaṅgikā; while Mādhava's valiant rescue of Mālatī from the clutches of a Kāpālika becomes, in the same way, a natural counterpart of Makaranda's heroic, but somewhat conventional, rescue of Madayantikā from the claws of a tiger.

There can be no doubt that the dramatist knows the value of contrast, but he also knows the value of suspense; and in spite of the length of the drama, the interest is sustained by skilful inventiveness and by a naturally developed interplay of two parallel, but contrasted, plots. The defect, however, is that the subsidiary plot and its chief characters tend to overshadow the main plot and its hero and heroine. This happens partly on account of the important part played by the daring and resourceful Makaranda, by whose side the love-sick and melodramatic Mādhava pales into the conventional hero, and partly by the extremely arresting character of the shrewd and lively Madayantikā, who similarly surpasses Mālatī, the shy and hesitating official heroine. The action also, notwithstanding a series of exciting incidents, suffers as a whole from a vital weakness in the central conception. Kāmandakī, with her kindly scheming, is undoubtedly meant to hold the key-position in the drama (the Kārya-vidhāna, as Kalahaṃsa says), far greater than the role of Friar Laurence in the *Romeo and Juliet*, or of the Parivrājikā in *Mālavikāgnimitra;* but the action of the drama is made to depend more on a series of accidents than on her clever diplomacy. It is true that she takes the fullest advantage of lucky occurrences, but too many important events happen by pure accident to further her design. The tiger-episode, which leads to the love of Makaranda and Madayantikā, is a veritable godsend to Kāmandakī, while Mālatī, twice on the verge of death, is saved by the merest chance, as the dramatist himself admits in v. 28. The incidents are, of course, dramaticaly justified, and the element of chance cannot be entirely ruled out of a drama, as out of life, but their convenient

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frequency demands too much from credulity. They are consistent perhaps with the supernatural atmosphere, in which uncanny things might happen; but they leave the general impression that the play moves in an unreal world of folk-tale, in which tigers run wild in the streets, ghosts squeak in cemeteries, Kāpālikas perform gruesome rites unhindered, maidens are abducted with murderous intent, and people adept in occult sciences fly through the air with both good and bad purposes,—but all miraculously resolved into a final harmonious effect!

The lack of a sense of proportion is also seen in prolonging the play even after it naturally ends with act viii, in which the king moved by the valour of Mādhava and Makaranda, is disposed to pardon them and acknowledge the marriage. The episodes of the two abductions of Mālatī hardly arise out of the story, but they are added to satisfy the sensational craving for the teribble and the gruesome, and to fill the whole of act ix and a part of act x with the grief and lamentation of the hapless Mādhava, separated from his beloved, in the approved manner of a man in *viraha*. It may be said that the first abduction is meant to establish a parallelism by showing that Mādhava is no less heroic than his friend in the rescue of his own beloved, and that the second abduction by Kapālakuṇḍalā is a natural act of revenge for the slaying of Aghoraghaṇṭa; but these purposes need not have been realised by clumsy appendages, involving fortuitous coincidences, by the introduction of terrible scenes, which are too unreal to inspire real terror, as well as by an unnecessary display of poetic sentimentality, modelled obviously on the madness of Purūravas in Kālidāsa's drama.

It is clear that, however lively, interesting and original the plot-construction of the play is, it lacks restraint, consistency and inevitableness. But a still greater defect lies in Bhavabhūti's tendency to over-emphasise and his inability to stop at the right moment, seen in a damaging degree in the highly poetical, but unhinded, sentimental passages. In his attempt to evoke tragic pathos, Bhavabhūti, with his unhumorous disposition, makes his hero faint too often, and this happens even at a time when he should rush to save his friend's life in danger! The love-agony frequently becomes prolonged, unmanly and unconvincing. The exuberant descriptive and emotional stanzas and elaborate prose speeches,[18] the high-sounding phrases

18 E.g., the long Prakrit passages in acts iii and vii, the description of the cremation-ground at night in act v, and the forest scene in act ix.

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and lengthy compounds (albeit not so formidable as they look) had perhaps a special relish, as much for the poet as for his audience. Some of the passages are highly poetical and picturesque; but they indicate an expansiveness and lack of moderation, which are fatal to dramatic movement and propriety; and the fact that some of these stanzas are repeated in the other two plays gives the impression that the poet had them ready-made to be utilised whenever an opportunity presents itself. Much of the talk of love and grief, therefore, becomes unreal and tends to overwhelm action and characterisation.

Nevertheless, the *Mālatī-mādhava* possesses, in many respects, a unique interest in the history of the Sanskrit drama, not only as an attractive picture of certain aspects of middle-class life, but also because of its genuine poetic quality. It is really an interesting story cast in a loose dramatic form, rather than an accomplished drama, but inventiveness and movement are not wanting. There is little individuality in its chief hero and heroine, who are typically sentimental lovers, making a lot of fuss about themselves, but Makaranda and Madayantikā, as well as Kāmandakī, show that the author's power of characterisation is not of a mean order. There is indeed a great deal of melodrama, of which it is difficult for a romantic play to steer clear entirely, but which often mars its pathetic and dramatic effect; and the gratuitous introduction of supernatural and horrible scenes may be pertinently questioned. It must, however, be admitted that there is a great deal of real poetry and passion in Bhavabhūti's picture of youthful love, which reaches its most mature and mellow expression in his *Uttara-rāma-carita*. If the *Mālatī-mādhava* is one of his earliest works,[19] the faults are those of youth and inexperience; but Bhavabhūti, even in this sentimental play, is far more serious than most light-hearted Sanskrit poets, and the intense poetic quality of his erotic stanzas, with their music,[20] colouring and

19 The *Mahāvīra-carita* is often taken to be Bhavabhūti's earliest work, but it is difficult to dogmatise on the question of its priority to the *Mālatī-mādhava*. The *Uttara-carita* is unquestionably the most mature work, as the poet himself indicates.

20 In this play Bhavabhūti employs a large number of metres, about twenty-five, with considerable skill, including rarer metres like Daṇḍaka (v. 23; fifty-four syllables in each foot), Nardaṭaka (v. 31, ix. 18) and Aparavaktra (ix. 23). The Śloka is not frequent (occurring about 14 times), but other chief metres, in their order of frequency, are Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Śikhariṇi, Mālini, Mandākrāntā and Hariṇi, the shorter metres being generally used for softer sentiments and the longer for the heroic and the awe-inspiring. There are eleven Āryās, to which

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fervour, relieves their banality. The picture of Mālatī, tossed between love and duty and reluctantly yielding to a stolen marriage, or the description of the first dawning of the passion in Mādhava and its effect on his youthful mind, is in the best manner of the poet and is much superior to what one finds normally in Sanskrit sentimental literature. The key-note of this weird but passionate love-story is perhaps given in the words of Makaranda (i. 17) when he says that the potent will of love wanders unobstructed in this world, youth is susceptible, and every sweet and charming thing shakes off the firmness of the mind. It is a study of the poetic possibilities of the undisciplined passion of youth; but no other Sanskrit poet, well versed as he is in the delineation of such sentiment, has been able to present it with finer charm and more genuine emotional inflatus.

If the *Mālatī-mādhava* is defective in plot-construction, much improvement is seen in this respect in the *Mahāvīra-carita*, which reveals a clearer conception of dramatic technique and workmanship, even if it is feebler in characterisation and in the literary quality of its poetical stanzas. It dramatises in seven acts[21] the early history of Rāma, beginning a little before

Kālidāsa also shows partiality. In the *Mahāvīra-carita* Bhavabhūti uses twenty different metres, in which the Śloka appears in about one-third of the total number of stanzas, the Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Vasantatilaka, Śikhariṇī, Sragdharā, Mandākrāntā and Upajāti coming next in order of frequency; the only unusual metre is Mālyabhārā found in a single stanza, while Āryā occurs only thrice. The *Uttara-carita* has the same metres as above, but here the Śloka easily leads and the Śikhariṇī comes next to it, after which comes the Vasantatilaka and Śādūlavikrīḍita, while the Sragdharā, Drutavilambita and Mañjubhāṣiṇī are sporadic here, as in *Mālatī*°. It is noteworthy that there is not a single Prakrit verse in all the three plays. Bhavabhūti's Prakrit in prose passages, with their long compounds (which remind one of Vākpatirāja's laboured verse with long compounds, is obviously influenced by Sanskrit usage, but it is sparingly employed in the *Mahāvīra*°. His vocabulary, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, has a tendency to prolixity, but it is extensive and generally adequate, while his poetic style is fully consistent with his poetical imagery and feeling.

21 Unfortunately, the genuineness of the last two acts, namely the sixth and the seventh, and the concluding part of the fifth act is not beyond question. Bhavabhūti's authorship of the text up to v. 46 alone is proved by the agreement of all manuscripts and printed editions; but for the rest we have (i) the Vulgate text, found in most North Indian manuscripts and generally printed in most editions, (ii) the text of Subrahmaṇya found in South Indian manuscripts (printed in Ratnam Aiyar's edition as such), and (iii) the text of Vināyaka (printed in Todar Mall's ed.), which agrees with the Vulgate in having the same text for acts vi and vii, but differs from it, as well as from Subrahmaṇya's text, in the portion from v. 46 to the end of the act. None of these supplementary texts probably represents

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his marriage and ending with his return from Laṅkā and coronation. The theme is found ready-made, but since the epic story is in the form of a narrative, containing a large number of episodes, incidents and characters, a mere panoramic reproduction of a series of pictures is hardly enough for a drama proper. The problem before the dramatist is not only to select such incidents and characters as are necessary and appropriate, but also, where such selection is difficult, to modify and adjust them in such a way as to make the different units well arranged with adequate dramatic motive and unity of action. In making daring, but judicious, changes even in a well-known and accepted story, Bhavabhūti gives evidence not only of the boldness and power of ingenious invention, but also of his sense of dramatic construction. Accordingly, the whole action is conceived as a feud of Rāvaṇa against Rāma. The seed of dramatic conflict and movement is found in Rāvaṇa's discomfiture as a suitor by the rejection of his messenger and by the betrothal of Sītā to Rāma at the Svayaṃvara. Rāvaṇa's desire for revenge at this insult to his pride and valour is further inflamed by death of Tāṭakā, Subāhu and other demons at the hands of Rāma; and the action is set in motion by the diplomacy of Rāvaṇa's valiant minister Mālyavat, which includes the crafty instigation by him of Paraśurāma and the despatch of Śūrpaṇakhā in the clever disguise of the nurse Mantharā, the second episode ingeniously exonerating Kaikeyī and supplying a motive for Śūrpaṇakhā's later conduct. The first scheme fails, the second succeeds, after which the abduction of Sītā becomes easy. In order to frustrate Rāma's efforts, there is then the intrigue of Mālyavat with Vāliṇ, which serves the twofold purpose of exculpating the dubious conduct of Rāma and avoiding the unseemly fraternal quarrel between Vālin and Sugrīva. But Vālin dies; and on the failure of diplomacy, nothing remains but the use of force, leading to the denouement of Rāvaṇa's defeat and death, rescue of Sītā and coronation of Rāma. The changes, therefore, in the original story are many, but they are justified by the necessity of evolving a well-knit and consistent plot; and the action is developed mainly on the basis of a conflict between strategy and straightforwardness. Whatever may be said about its adequacy, the attempt to motivate the episodes shows considerable dramatic sense and skill.

Bhavabhūti's own text, which is perhaps lost. For a discussion of the whole question see Todar Mall's introduction, reviewed in detail by S. K. De in *IA.*, lix, 1930, pp. 13-18.

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But the plot fails to impress us as a whole. The central conception of the dramatic conflict is weak. The strategy of Mālyavat fails, not because it is met with an equally ingenious counter-strategy, not even because Rāma has superior strength and resources, but because it is destined that Rāma, with virtue in his favour, must ultimately win. On the side of villainy, Bhavabhūti was doubtless permitted to take as much liberty with the original story as he wished, but perhaps he could not do so with equal impunity on the side of virtue; the entire dramatic conflict, therefore, becomes unconvincing. The plot also suffers from Bhavabhūti's usual lack of restraint and of the sense of proportion, which are so glaring in his *Mālatī-mādhava,* from a greater feebleness of characterisation and from a heavier and more uncouth style and diction. As in his *Uttara-carita,* Rāma here is human and normal, but he is conceived as the ideal hero of valour, nobility and chivalry, and the human traits of his character (as also those of Sītā, who is here presented as fidelity incarnate) are not made as appealing as they are in Bhavabhūti's more mature play. Mālyavat is shrewd and resourceful and has a sense of better things, but he falls far below Cāṇakya or Rākṣasa. Paraśurāma's great prowess is balanced by his furious temper Vālin's magnanimity by his susceptibility to bad advice; Rāvaṇa's qualities of body and mind by his inclination to thoughtless passion; but none of these characters rises above mediocrity, and there is hardly any development of character by action, hardly any fine colouring or diversity of shading. Bhavabhūti also appears to be less successful in the heroic than in the softer sentiments; it is a kind of flaunting, but really meek and bookish, heroism that he paints even in his Rāma. Moreover, action is often substituted by narration of events in long and tedious speeches. The Bharata-episode at the end of act iv and the scene between Vālin and Sugrīva are indeed ably executed, but Mālyavat's self-revelation is carried to an unnecessary and tiresome length. Like the lamentation of Mādhava, spread over an act and a half, the wordy warfare between Paraśurāma, on the one hand, and Janaka, Daśaratha, Rāma and their friends on the other, is dragged tediously through two acts. All such passages reveal the author's multifarious knowledge and rhetorical power, but they also show a distinct desire for parade and tend to hamper reality and rapidity of action, as well as effectiveness of characterisation. In all this, Bhavabhūti may have been carried away by convention, but temperamentally he appears to be too prone to over-elaboration carried out by means of description and declamation; and even if his

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language in this play is often vigorous and adequate, it lacks his usual ease and grace.

Even if still deficient in action, for which the theme hardly affords much scope, the *Uttara-rāma-carita* shows a much greater command of dramatic technique and characterisation.[22] It is undoubtedly Bhavabhūti's masterpiece, the product, as the poet himself declares, of his mature genius, and has deservedly earned the high reputation of having equalled the dramatic masterpiece of Kālidāsa. It depicts in seven acts the later history of Rāma extending from the exile of Sītā to the final reunion; and Bhavabhūti's literary characteristics may be studied to the best advantage in this work, which reaches a high level as a drama but which undoubtedly ranks higher for its intense poetic quality. Bhavabhūti derives his theme from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but to suit his dramatic purpose he does not, as in his earlier Rāma-drama, hesitate to depart in many points from his authoritative epic original. The conception, for instance, of the picture-gallery scene, derived probably from a hint supplied by Kālidāsa (*Raghu* xiv. 25), and of the invisible presence of Sītā in a spirit-form during Rāma's visit to Pañcavatī, of Rāma's meeting with Vāsanti and confession, the fight between Lava and Candraketu, the visit of Vasiṣṭha and others to Vālmīki's hermitage, and the enactment of a miniature play or masque on Rāma's later history composed by Vālmīki, are skilful details which are invented for the proper development of his dramatic theme, as well as for the suitable expression of his poetic powers. Here again, Bhavabhūti's principal problem is not the creation but the adequate motivation of an already accepted story. While not monotonously adhering to his orignal, he accepts for his particular dramatic purpose the epic outlines of a half-mythical and half-human legend of bygone days, which had already taken its hold on the popular imagination by its pathos and poetry; but he reshapes it freely with appropriate romantic and poetical situations, which bring out all the ideal and dramatic implications of a well known story. In taking up the theme of conjugal love as a form of pure, tender and spiritual affection, ripening into an abiding passion, Bhavabhūti must have realised that its beauty and charm could be best brought out by avoiding the uncongenial realism of contemporary life and going back to the poetry and idealism of olden days. It was not his purpose to draw the figures on his canvas on the generous and heroic scale of

22 A detailed appreciative study of Bhavabhūti's dramatic art and technique will be found in Belvalkar's introduction to the play, vol. i, pp. lxxvi-lxxxv.

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the Epic; but he wanted to add to the ancient tale an intensity of human feeling, which should transform an old-world legend into one of everyday experience, the story of high ideals into one of vivid reality.

In this drama Bhavabhūti idealises conjugal love through the chastening influence of sorrow, and he does this in a way which is unparalleled in Sanskrit, or perhaps in any literature. There are indeed some charming pictures of domestic happiness in Indian literature; but the causes, both social and religious, which lowered women in public estimation by depriving them of their early freedom and dignity, naturally hindered the evolution of a free conjugal relation. It is conceivable that the larger and more heterogenous group comprising the family in ancient India may have also hampered its growth; for a girl left her father's home to enter the home, not of her husband, but of her father-in-law, and the husband is often merely one of the factors of the big family. Wedded love was indeed highly prized, but ordinary marriages were perhaps often prompted by motives of convenience, among which must be reckoned the necessity of having a son for religious purposes; and self-choice of husband was almost entirely confined to the Epics, being forbidden by the customary Smṛtis, even if permitted by the Kāma-śāstra. The Aśokan edicts, though now and then didactic on family relations, are silent on conjugal life. Buddhism brought greater freedom to women; but the Epics, as well as the Dharma-śāstras, are full of utilitarian precepts—not merely priestly generalisations—regarding marriage, and domestic happiness is still summed up in the loyalty of a fruitful, patient and thrifty wife. Moreover, the existence of polygamy, which was perhaps the Dharma more of the higher classes than of the people in general, rendered the position of the wife difficult and sometimes less than real. When, like queen Dhāriṇī, she finds herself treated by her husband with scant grace and deserted for a younger rival, it becomes useless for her to show her temper and jealousy like Irāvatī; she can, if she is shrewd and discreet, only say pathetically: *na me eso macchara-rassa kālo* ('this is not for me a time for jealousy'), and all that is possible for her to do is to make the best of a bad job by falling back upon her own sense of dignity and pride. The author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* discreetly keeps Cārudatta's wife in the background; on the very rare occasions in which she does appear, we have just a sad and dignified picture, in which her gentleness and generosity are not feigned indeed but are apparently virtues made of helpless necessity.

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It is natural, therefore, that even from antiquity Indian opinion represents the god of love as different from the deities who preside over marriage and fertility. No doubt, restrictions placed on the physical gratification of love, except in marriage, are due not only to moral and social necessity, but they also indicate a tendency which harmonises with the biological law that mating is the final cause of love. But in a society where mating was also a religious duty and where conjugal relation was moulded by a peculiar social evolution, an errant tendency was inevitable; and many writers have not hesitated to express a startingly heterodox view. There are indeed genuine praises of the wife, but one poet, for instance, represents married life as a prison-house, and the usual note is that of the glorification of the love-union permitted by Kāma-śāstra. It is not difficult to understand a similar attitude, occasionally, on the part of the wife. Apart from the numberless tales of naughty and cunning wife's intrigues in Sanskrit folk-tale, a more refined sentiment is expressed by one woman-poet who is impatient with the perfect spouse, who has all the virtues of a stage-hero, but none of a lover, which alone can make her happiness perfect. Free and continuous courtship is thus recognised as a stimulus of permanent love. Married love can remain unspoiled by time and familiarity and retain its romance and beauty only where there is enough of that idealism which can make such continuous courtship possible and redeem it from the debasing contact of the littleness of life's daily experience. In such a discouraging atmosphere, where the tendency to take the marriage-vow lightly was not uncommon, Bhavabhūti had the courage to represent conjugal love as a serious and abiding human passion, as a blend of sex-feeling, parent-feeling and comradeship, or as expressed in the words of the wise Kāmandakī (vi. 18): "Know, my dear children, that to a wife her husband and to a husband his lawful wife, are, each to each, the dearest of friends, the sum-total of relationships, the completeness of desire, the perfection of treasures, even life itself". The implications, both real and ideal, of such love, are best brought out, in the idea of our poet, not by an invented plot, nor by a story based on the narrow realism of actual life, but by the idealism, pathos and poetry of an intensely human legend of the past, round which a hundred romantic associations have already gathered.

Bhavabhūti's Rāma and Sītā are from the beginning man and woman of more strenuous and deeper experience than Duṣyanta and his woodland love. In the opening act, which has been praised so often and which strikes

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the keynote of the drama, the newly crowned king of Ayodhyā, with his beloved spouse and his ever faithful brother, is looking over pictures which recall the dear memory of their past sorrow. This scene, which is made the occasion for the tender and deep attachment of Rāma and Sītā to show itself, also heightens by contrast the grief of separation which immediately follows. There is a fine note of tragic irony not only in Rāma's assurance that such a separation as they had suffered would never happen again, in Lakṣmaṇa's inadvertant allusion to the fire-ordeal and Rāma's instant declaration of his disbelief in baseless rumours, but also in Sītā's passionate clinging to the memories of past joy and sorrow on the verge of a still more cruel fate. The blow comes just at a moment when the tired, timid nd confiding Sītā falls asleep on the arms of her husband, who is lost in his own thoughts of love. When the cup of happiness, full to the brim, was raised to his lips; it was dashed off from Rāma's hand; and one can understand the sentimental breakdown which immediately follows in the conflict between his love and his stern sense of kingly duty. With the responsibilities of the state newly laid on his shoulders, Rāma is perhaps more self-exacting than is right or just to himself and his beloved; but having abandoned the faithful and dear wife, who was his constant companion ever since childhood, his suffering knows no bounds. Both his royal and personal pride is deeply wounded by the thought that such an unthinkable stain should attach to the purity of his great love and to the purity of the royal name he bears.

The scene of the next two acts is laid in the old familiar surroundings of Daṇḍaka and Pañcavatī, which Rāma revisits. Twelve years have elapsed; his grief has mellowed down; but he is still loyal and devoted to the memory of his banished wife The sorrow, which has become deep-seated, is made alive with the recollection of their early experience of married love in these forests, where even in exile they had been happy. The situation is dramatically heightened by making the pale, sorrowing but resigned Sītā appear in a spirit-form, unseen by mortals, and become an unwilling, but happy, listener to the confessions which her husband makes unknowingly to Vāsantī of his great love and fidelity. Sītā's resentment is real and reasonable, and she is still mystified as to why Rāma abandoned her. She comes on the scene with despair and resignation in her heart, but it is not for her to sit in judgment on his conduct. She appears as the true woman and loving wife which she has not ceased to be, and is willing to be convinced. Unknown to each other, the reconciliation of hearts is now complete; and

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with an admirable delicacy of touch the dramatist describes her gradual, but generous, surrender to the proof that, though harsh, he deeply loves her and has suffered no less. When Vāsantī, who cannot yet take kindly to Rāma, reproves him on his heartless act to his wife in a half-finished, but bitter, speech (iii. 26) and denounces him in her righteous wrath, her pitiless words aggravate his grief; but the unseen Sītā, with a characteristic want of logic but with the true instinct of a loving heart, now defends her husband and resents all disparagement from outside. The denouement of reunion is only a logical development of this scene; and the recognition scene in act vi in which Bhavabhūti, like Kālidāsa, represents the offspring as the crown of wedded love, forms a natural psychological climax. By removing the inevitable tragedy of the original story, Bhavabhūti runs the risk of weakening the artistic effect of his drama, but the denouement of happy ending is not here a mere observance of convention, brought about in a forced way. It is naturally developed by rehandling the entire theme and creating new situations, and no other conclusion is possible from the poet's skilful readjustment of motives and incidents. It is a drama in which the tragic climax occurs, with the sorrow and separation, at the beginning; and it requires a considerable mastery of the dramatic art to convert it from a real tragedy into a real comedy of happiness and reunion. It cannot be said that Bhavabhūti does not succeed.

Bhavabhūti praises himself for his "mastery of speech" and claims merit for felicity and richness of expression as well as for depth of meaning; and the praise that he arrogates for himself is not undeserved. The qualities in which he excels are his power of vivid and often rugged, or even grotesque, description, the nobility and earnestness of his conception, a genuine emotional tone, and a love for all that is deep and poignant, as well as grand and awe-inspiring, in life and nature. Contrasted with Kālidāsa, however, he lacks polish and fastidious technical finish: but, as we have already said,[23] his tendency was not towards the ornate and the finical but towards the grotesque and the rugged, not towards reserve but towards abandon. This would explain, to a certain extent, why his so-called dramas are in reality dramatic poems, and his plot is, at least in his earlier plays, a string of incidents or pictures without any real unity. Bhavabhūti cannot write in the lighter vein, but takes his subject too seriously; he has no humour, but

23 See *IHQ.*, xvi, 1940, pp. 203-4.

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enough of dramatic irony; he can hardly attain perfect artistic aloofness, but too often merges himself in his subject; he has more poetic feeling than poetic art.

His *Uttara-rāma-carita* shows indeed considerable dramatic skill, but it appeals more as an exceedingly human story of love and suffering, steeped in the charm of poetic sentiment. It is chiefly in this that its merit lies. The story is drawn from the Epic, but the picture is far more homely, far more real; the emotion is far more earnest than is usual in Sanskrit love-poetry. Bhavabhūti is not concerned with romantic and light-hearted intrigues, nor does his theme, in spite of the introduction of the supernatural, consist of the treatment of a legendary subject removed from the reality of common experience. His delineation of love as an emotion is finely spiritual and yet intensely human. His descriptions are marked by an extraordinary realism of sensation and vividness of touch. While preserving the essential ideality of a theme, which was cherished through ages as an elevated conception, he invests it with a higher poetical naturalness, based on the genuine emotions of common manhood and womanhood. In this he vies successfully with Kālidāsa.

It is natural, therefore, that in Indian estimation Bhavabhūti should rank next to Kālidāsa as a poet, if not as a dramatist. To be judged by this lofty standard is itself a virtual acknowledgment of high merit; and it is not an altogether unjust estimate. Bhavabhūti's shortcomings are those of an exuberant poetic mind, lacking the much-desired restraint of an artist, and they are manifest on the surface; but he has excellences which place him very high. As a dramatist he does not certainly lack power, but perhaps he is not as successful as Kālidāsa, much less than Śūdraka or Viśākhadatta. His tendency to exaggerate, to strain deliberately after effect and accumulate series of them, to indulge in sentimental prolixity, to take things too earnestly and identify himself with them, are faults which are fatal to a good dramatist. His lack of humour, which is partially responsible for these aberrations, does not indicate a disorganised mind, but it is perhaps a temperamental insufficiency, which makes his mind too elevated and inelastic to appreciate fully the lighter side of life and embrace in broad and sparkling sympathy all kinds of men and things. He is too profoundly interested in his characters and their sentiments to care for action as such. In a narrative we are told what occurs, in a drama we see the actual occurrence; in Bhavabhūti's plays, comparatively little happens, though much is said. And yet he does

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not excel in mere narrative. His genius is in its essence lyrical, implying a development of feeling and reflection at the expense of action; it is too often so in principle, even when it is not so in form. He cannot project himself properly into his characters; he is too personal to be entirely self-effacing, too impetuous to be smooth and even. Bhavabhūti the man, as well as Bhavabhūti the poet, is indeed not a shadowy figure, but lives vividly in his works; he is one of the few charmingly egoistic authors in Sanskrit, who seldom loses sight of himself, but permeates his writings (even though they are dramas) with the flavour of a rugged but lovable personality. It is not surprising, therefore, that his emotions carry him away, often further than the limits of art. His sentiment becomes sentimentality, and his pathos the spectacular sensibility of the man of feeling rather than the poignant rush of tragic sorrow. He is a master of aggravated pathos rather than of heroic agony. He does not condense a world of emotion in one terse pregnant phrase of concentrated passion, but dilutes the strength of the poetic nucleus by diffusing it into graceful and sonorous periods. Perhaps popular taste did not disapprove of such naked wallowing in the pathetic; and very few Sanskrit poets, in accordance with the accepted theory of sentiment, would resist the opportunity of a free outpouring in sentimental verse and prose. But these are not mere concessions to be groundlings; nor is theory not emphatic in the sound view that sentiments should be suggested rather than expressed. The unauthorised practice of wordy emphasis springs rather from an excess of sensibility inherent in Bhavabhūti's poetic imagination, which is never tired by unchartered freedom. Leaving aside his Mādhava, even his Rāma's prolonged lamentations, tears and faintings, however poetic, are overdone and become undignified.

There can be no denying these facts, which are obvious even to a superficial reader of Bhavabhūti's plays. Bhavabhūti is fortunate in having good editors and apologists,—the kindred spirits for whom he cried in his life-time; but his merits are also too obvious to require a justification of his demerits. It is not of much consequence if his dramas, judged by a strict standard, are really dramatic poems; it is the type in which Bhavabhūti excels, and he should be judged by what he actually aims at and achieves. Other dramatists may exhibit a greater degree of some characteristic quality, but it is scarcely too much to say that none among the successors of Kālidāsa surpasses Bhavabhūti in pure poetic feeling. It is not necessary to prove it by quoting instances of his mastery of poetical imagery, thought and

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expression in every variety of melting modulation or sounding pomp; the spirit of poetry, quite indefinable but easily perceivable, pervades all his writings in their theme and treatment, and more especially, in the charming series of lyric stanzas which Bhavabhūti alone could write. If he is a poet of human passion, having a strong perception of the nobility of human character and its deeply felt impulses and emotions, he is no less a lover of the overwhelming grandeur of nature, nthroned in the solitude of dense forests, sounding cataracts and lofty mountains. It is not often that his passionate humanism and naturalism yield to mere academicism. If he expresses his sensations with a painful and disturbing intensity[24] and often strays into the rugged and the formless (or, shall we say, evolves his own form of art and expression?), he thereby drinks deep at the very fountain of life; he realises the man's joy even if he loses the artist's serenity. His unevenness and inequality, even his verbosity and slovenliness, are thus explicable. Bhavabhūti suffers from the excess of his qualities, but the qualities are those of a great, but powerfully sensitive, poetic mind. His contemporaries called him Śrīkaṇṭha "Divine Throat", perhaps in homage to his divine music; but since it is also the name of the rugged and powerful deity, who swallowed poison in lieu of nectar, the epithet is justified by Bhavabhūti's mastery of overmastering passion, by his nervous energy and terrible sincerity, which scorn mere polish and finish, but speak, with palpitating warmth, of things lying at the very core of his being.

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24 In his description of primal sensations Bhavabhūti is as often direct as he is uncouth, but terribly appropriate, in his selection of words. The word *grāvan*, for instance, in his famous line, describing Rāma's poignant sorrow (*Uttara*° i. 28), is not dainty like Kālidāsa's *upala*, but it cannot be substituted for a weaker word. His jagged description of the Daṇḍaka forest, though often bizarre and even grotesque, can be contrasted in this respect the refined charm of Kālidāsa's picture of the Himalayas. Bhavabhūti is one of the few Sanskrit poets who can describe a sensation in its intense vividness, without investing it with an ideal glamour or domesticating it. Witness, for instance his description of the sensation of touch in *Uttara*° i. 35, *Mālatī*° vi. 12 and *Mahāvīra*° ii. 22. He is not gross nor sensual, but it is not correct to say that his ideas and objects are spiritually rarefied; on the contrary, the touch of sensuousness is too warmly conspicuous to be ignored. The comparison with the sublimely academic Milton and the coldly polished Thomas Gray, suggested by Lanman, is barely justifiable.

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Nālandā Seals of Budhagupta and Viṣṇugupta

The Gupta seals found in the excavations of Monastery I at Nālandā have been known to scholars from a long time, but the two most important of them have only been recently published. One is the seal of Viṣṇugupta and has been edited by Mr. Krishna Deva in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVI, p. 235, while the other belongs to Budhagupta and appears along with other seals and inscriptions of Nālandā in Dr. Hirananda Sastri's *Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Materials* (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 66). The texts of both the seals, though fragmentary, can be restored almost in full by a reference to the other seals of the dynasty. While Mr. Krishna Deva has conclusively shown that Viṣṇugupta Candrāditya was the son of Kumāragupta, the grandson of Narasiṃhagupta and the great grandson of Pūrugupta,[1] the seal of Budhagupta has not as yet been fully studied. The text of the seal,[2] based on a scrutiny of the original, is reproduced below, and it will be seen that it differs from Dr. Sastri's text in some minor details:

Line 1 [Sarva-rāj-occhettuḥ pṛthivyām = apratirathasya mahārāja]* -śrī-GUPTA-prapauttrasya mahārāja-śrī-GHAṬOTKA-

Line 2 [CA-pauttrasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-CANDRAGUPTA-puttrasya Liccha]*vi-dauhittrasya mahādevyām Kumāradevyām = utpanna-

Line 3 [sya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-SAMUDRAGUPTAsya puttras = tat-pari]*gṛhīto mahādevyāṃ Dattadevyām = utpannaḥ svayaṃ

Line 4 [c = āpratirathaḥ parama-bhāgavato mahārājādhirāja-śrī]* -CANDRAGUPTAs = tasya puttras = tat-pād-ā[nudhyāto]

Line 5 [mahādevyāṃ Dhruvadevyām = utpanno mahārājādhirāja]* śrī-KUMĀRAGUPTAs = tasya puttras = tat-pād-ā-

1 Regarding this form of the name hitherto known as Puragupta, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 236.

2 The seal is at present deposited in the Archæological Museum at Nālandā and bears the register number 1-660. Only a fragment of the seal was recovered, more than half of its left portion having been entirely lost. The restored portion at the beginning of each line has been enclosed within double brackets and marked by asterisks. The script is of the regular Gupta variety, but an important point worthy of notice is the southern form of the letter *m*. Orthographically the duplication of *t* in the words *pauttra* (l ·1) and *puttra* (l ·4) may be mentioned.

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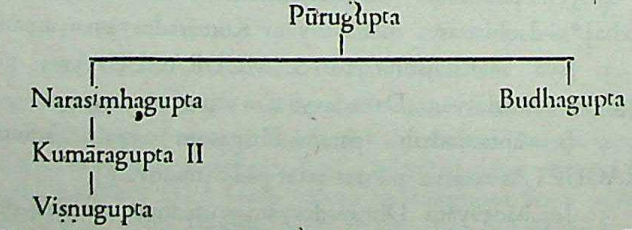
Line 6 [nudhyāto mahādevyām = Anantadevyām = utpanno ma]*-hārājādhirāja-śrī-PŪRUGUTPA(PTA)s = ta-

Line 7 [sya puttras = tat-pād-ānudhyāto mahādevyāṃ]* [Candra]-devyāṃ = utpannaḥ

Line 8 [parama-bhāgavato mahārājādhirāja]* -śrī-BUDHA-GUPTAH.

It will be seen that line 1 contains the names of Gupta and Ghaṭotkaca, the missing portions of lines 2 and 3 of Candragupta [I] and Samudragupta respectively, line 4 of Candragupta [II], line 5 of Kumāragupta, line 6 of Pūrugupta and line 8 of Budhagupta. The length of the missing portions of lines 7 and 8 is just sufficient to contain the usual attributes of the author of the seal, so that there is no chance of a ruler intervening between Pūrugupta and Budhagupta having been mentioned in the lost portions. The seal therefore leaves absolutely no doubt about the fact that *Budhagupta was the son of Pūrugupta*. The name of the mother of Budhagupta occurring at the beginning of the extant portion of line 7 is not clearly legible; it consists of four letters, the first of which is either *ca* or *va* and the second is certainly *n* with some subscript mark or letter; the third and fourth letters clearly read *devyāṃ*. It is therefore highly probable that the name was Candradevī, which is already known from other seals to have been the name of the queen of Pūrugupta.[3] The two Nālandā seals therefore enable us to frame the following genealogical table of the successors of Pūrugupta:



This genealogy leaves us with the fact that between A.D. 467, the last known date of Skandagupta, and A.D. 476, the earliest date of Budhagupta, four generations of rulers, viz., Pūrugupta, Narasiṃhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Viṣṇugupta held the throne. This is indeed a remarkable historical phenomenon, but it is more likely that Viṣṇugupta followed and not preceded Budhagupta. The following consideration shows that at the time of the death of his father Kumāragupta some time before

3 Sastri, *loc. cit.*, p. 29, n. 2.

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A.D. 476 Viṣṇugupta could have been only a child. Skandagupta, who came to the throne in A.D. 455 and became the hero of many exploits, could not have been a very old man at the time of his accession; assuming that he was 55 years of age, we get *c.* 400 as the year of his birth. Pūrugupta may have been born a few years later, say 403.[4] Allowing a period of 22 to 25 years for each generation, we get A.D. 469 to 478 (average 473-74) as the date of birth of Viṣṇugupta. It appears somewhat unlikely that the child Viṣṇugupta came to the throne directly after his father as a full-fledged *mahārājādhirāja* over a wide empire and issued seals and coins within a year or two of his rule. I therefore regard it more probable that Kumāragupta II was succeeded by his uncle Budhagupta in *c.* A.D. 476 and not by his minor son. The latter in that case must have got the throne some time after A.D. 495, the last known date of Budhagupta.

The above genealogy is based on the theory first propounded by M. Pannalal[5] and now accepted by many other scholars that the Kumāragupta mentioned in the Sārnāth inscription of A.D. 473[6] and the homonymous grandson of Pūrugupta known from the Bhitari seal[7] (which is now confirmed in every detail by some Nālandā seals) are identical. Numismatic evidence supports this theory, as the Gupta series of coins makes us acquainted only with two Kumāraguptas. A probable objection against this genealogy is that it is too constricted. For example, Skandagupta could well have been less than 55 years of age when he came to the throne, or the average length of each generation might have been longer than has been assumed here; in either of which case Viṣṇugupta must have been born much after A.D. 473-74.

At the same time, the possibility of the Kumāraguptas of the Sārnāth inscription and the Bhitari and Nālandā seals being two separate individuals is not precluded by any definite evidence, and if this is conceded to, an alternative genealogy may be suggested;[8]

4 It has been suggested that Pūrugupta was the elder brother and came to the throne earlier than Skandagupta (*IHQ.*, vol. IX, p. 787, n. 13), which is not very probable.

5 *Hindustan Review*, January, 1918.

6 *Arch. Surv. India, An. Rep.*, 1914-15, p. 124.

7 *JASB.*, vol. LVIII, pt. I, p. 89.

8 This has been suggested to me by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

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Pūrugupta

Kumāragupta II[9] (Sārnāth inscr., A.D. 473)	Budhagupta (476-95)	Narasiṃhagupta	Bhitari and Nālandā seals
		Kumāragupta III	
		Viṣṇugupta	

This genealogy obviates the necessity of having a crowded succession between A.D. 467 and 476 and also enables us to place Narasiṃhagupta (Bālāditya) in the first quarter of the sixth century and thus reconcile the story related by Hiuen Tsang about the defeat of Mihirakula by Bālāditya. Which of these two genealogies is the correct one can be decided only with the discovery of fresh materials.

With the restoration of Viṣṇugupta and Budhagupta to their proper places the following princes known from inscriptions and coins still remain unconnected: Vainyagupta Dvādaśāditya (coins,[10] Nālandā seal[11] and Gunaighar copper-plate of A.D. 507[12]), Bhānugupta (Eran pillar inscription of A.D. 510[13]), Prakāśāditya, Narendrāditya, Ghaṭotkacagupta, Jayagupta and Yaśogupta (coins). Of these Prakāśāditya must have been identical with one of the rulers already known to us, possibly with Budhagupta himself,[14] and Narendrāditya with Samācāradeva, as the letters *samā* appear on his coins.[15] Vainyagupta must have been a near successor of Budhagupta, and Bhānugupta is the last Gupta ruler known to have any connexion with Central India, which soon passed to the Hūṇas and then to Yaśo-

9 In this genealogy we are left in the dark about the parentage of this Kumāragupta. It is not impossible that he was the son of Skandagupta, whom he directly succeeded. In that case Pūrugupta may have succeeded his nephew after 473, and left the throne to his son Budhagupta after a brief reign.

10 The coins ascribed to a hypothetical Candragupta III are now known to have belonged to this ruler (*IHQ.*, vol. IX, p. 784).

11 Sastri, *loc. cit.*, p. 67. Unfortunately the seal is so fragmentary that nothing can be made out of it about the parentage of Vainyagupta.

12 *IHQ.*, vol. VI, p. 45. 13 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 20.

14 Prakāśāditya is sometimes regarded as one of the *āditya* titles of Pūrugupta on the most inconclusive datum of the Bharsar hoard of coins, which only shows that he ruled some time later than Skandagupta (Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. ciii).

15 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 80. This is not to suggest that Samācāradeva belonged to the Gupta line. His Nālandā seal points to the contrary.

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dharman, who, as is now known, originated from a well-established gubernatorial family of Daśapura. The other princes seem to have belonged to eastern India alone, where Gupta rule continued till at least A.D. 543, the date of the last set of Dāmodarpur copper-plates.[16]

We may now examine some theories which have been suggested from time to ime to solve the problems of he chronology of the later Imperial Guptas. Some scholars have argued for a div'sion of the empire between the successors of Skandagupta and Pūrugupta. Thus, Dr. R. G. Basak suggests that to the line of Skandagupta belonged Kumarāgupta (II) of the Sārnāth inscription and the latter's son Budhagupta, while the line of Pūrugupta, consisting of Narasiṃhagupta and Kumāragupta (III), flourished side by side with the former line.[17] This succession must be rejected in view of the present Nālandā seals, and even the partition theory should be abandoned as it directly contradicts w'th what we know about the extent of Budhagupta's empire. His Sārnāth inscription of A.D. 476, unpublished Benares pillar inscription of the same date, Eran pillar inscription of A.D. 484 and Dāmodarpur copper-plates indicate that he held all that belonged to the Guptas during his time,[18] and that there was no room for any rival dynasty to rule. Of course, the existence of a large number of *mahārājas* within the empire, such as the Parivrājakas in Baghelkhand, Suraśmicandra between the Kālindī and Narmadā and Brahmadatta in Puṇḍravardhana may indicate the gradual weakening of the central authority; but there is no ground for supposing that this was due to the rivalry between two collateral houses.

In his description of Nālandā Hiuen Tsang says that the monastic establishments at that place were enriched by the successive endowments of Śakrāditya, Buddhagupta, Tathāgatagupta and Bālāditya.[19] On the strength of this statement it has been suggested that Budhagupta was the son of

16 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 138.

17 Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 78.

18 There is no evidence of Gupta rule over Gujrat after Skandagupta. At the same time there is no justification for regarding Budhagupta as a ruler of Central India alone or for thinking that 'originally he was a prince of Mālava who succeeded Kumāragupta II in the north,' (*ABORI.*, vol. I, p. 77). There is no direct evidence of his hold over Bihar but it is unthinkable that it belonged to a different family when he was holding the east United Provinces and Bengal.

19 Beal, *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 168.

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Kumāragupta I who had the title of Mahendrāditya (Mahendra = Śakra).[20] With our new knowledge about the parentage of Budhagupta the proposed identifications must be rejected; it may further be asserted either the statement of Hiuen Tsang was based on hearsay and not on sound history, or else his Budhagupta should not be identified with Budhagupta of the Imperial Gupta line.

Hoernle suggested that Skandagupta and Pūrugupta were two names of the same ruler,[21] and this theory has been recently[22] revived on the strength of the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, which says that Bāla (*i.e.* Bālāditya) was the son of the S-initialled (*i.e.* Skandagupta).[23] A reconciliation between the seals which make Narasiṃhagupta (Bālāditya) the son of Pūrugupta and the *MMK.* is possible only if Pūrugupta and Skandagupta were identical. Additional strength to this theory is derived from a recent suggestion that the only gold coin which was ascribed to Pūrugupta belongs in reality to Budhagupta.[24] It is impossible to be sure about this new ascription, especially as R. D. Banerji assured us that there are other coins besides the one known to Allan on which the name *Pura* is clearly written.[25] The numismatic evidence is therefore inconclusive at present, and the utterly confused accounts of the *MMK.* cannot be relied upon for proving any important fact of Gupta history.

Mention may in conclusion be made of the occurrence of isolated single letters on the coins of some Gupta rulers, as they have been brought into prominence in some recent writings with the assumption that they represent the initial letters of the secondary names of the respective rulers. While not denying this possibility, I am inclined to think that all such letters should be viewed as a whole before we can be definite about their significance. It is only in the case of the coins of the two Kumāraguptas that we can be sure that the letters *śrī-ku* or *ku* represents the initials of their primary names, but the analogy cannot be pushed further in view of the fact that while these letters appear in a prominent place on the coins, *viz.* below the left arm of the effigy of the king, in other cases they appear inconspicuously between the feet of the king and in one case between the

20 Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 503; Tripathi, *History of Ancient India*, p. 265.

21 *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 102. 22 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 236.

23 Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 48 of the Sanskrit text.

24 *Indian Culture*, vol. I, p. 691. 25 *ABORI.*, vol. I, p. 73.

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legs of the horse carrying the king. To this category belong the *ja* and *bha* on the coins of Skandagupta, *go*[26] on those of Narasiṃhagupta, *go* and *ja* on those of Kumāragupta Kramāditya, *bhā* on those of Vainyagupta Dvādaśāditya, *u* or *ru* on those of Prakāśāditya and of Viṣṇugupta Candrāditya, and *ca* and *dha* on those of Narendrāditya. It may be doubted if all these letters can be regarded as the initials of secondary royal names, especially as most of them appear on the coins of more than one ruler; at any rate, other possible explanations, such as their being mint-marks or initials of the artists who sank the coin-dies, need not be lost sight of. Of the Gupta kings only Candragupta II is definitely known to have had a second 'favourite' name Devarāja or Devagupta, and it is noteworthy that the letter *de* does not appear on his coins. On the assumption that most of the Gupta rulers had more than one name, many identifications have been proposed from time to time, but they are all based on inconclusive data and are in some cases too daring, serving only to confuse the issues.

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26 *Indian Culture*, vol V, p. 428, n. 4.

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The Second Struggle of Bhīma and his friend Hari in the Rāmacaritam

In the excellent edition of the *Rāmacaritaṃ* published by the Varendra Research Society, under the joint editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. R. G. Basak and Mr. N. G. Banerji, there are a few points which require reconsideration. In this paper, I propose to discuss one of these points, viz., the incident of eluding the vigilance of his captors by Bhīma in captivity,[1] the rally of his forces by his friend Hari, and the second struggle with Rāmapāla put in by Hari with the help of the rallied forces of Bhīma. For this is the course of events, as made out by the learned editors of the new edition of the *Rāmacaritaṃ*.

The story of Bhīma's eluding the vigilance of his captors is a contribution by the present editors. The previous scholars made the episode out in the following manner:—

Mm. H. P. Śāstrī, the discoverer and first editor of the *Rāmacaritaṃ* in his Intro. p. 14 writes:—

"The allied army ....., took Bhīma a captive while riding on his elephant in the battle-field. He was placed in charge of Vittapāla, who showed him all hospitality and treated him very kindly.

But Hari, a friend of Bhīma, rallied the scattered Kaivartta army and advanced to fight. It was a well-contested battle in which both sides lost much. Rāmapāla's son contested every inch of ground and established his power. Hari at last found himself powerless, was captured, and led to the place of execution. Bhīma, too, seems to have been put to the sword."

This will show that no eluding by Bhīma of the vigilance of his captors was understood and brought out by Śāstrī. He takes Hari to be a friend of Bhīma and describes his rally of the routed Kaivartta army, the second stand of the partisans of Bhīma, capture and execution of Hari, as well as of Bhīma. We shall see later on that none of these statements can be supported from the text.

Mr. R. D. Banerji states in his *Palas of Bengal*, p. 91:—

"Bhīma was captured on the back of an elephant. Bhīma's army most probably dispersed on the capture of their leader and Rāmapāla seems to have obtained an easy victory ..... Bhīma remained a captive and was placed in charge of a

1 Pandit Ayodhyānāth Vidyāvinoda, in his edition of the *Rāmacaritaṃ* makes this out into a flight of Bhīma from captivity. His edition, p. 69.

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certain Vittapāla. The scattered forces of Bhīma were rallied by one of his friends named Hari. In the ensuing battle, Rāmapāla's son contested every inch of ground and at last succeeded in defeating the Kaivarttas. Hari was at last deprived of his forces, captured and executed with Bhīma."

It is to be noted that Banerji's version is entirely based on that of Śāstrī.

Now let us see how Dr. Majumdar understands and recapitulates this episode in his Introduction to the new edition of the *Rāmacaritaṃ*:—

"By an evil turn of destiny, Bhīma, seated on his elephant, was taken prisoner, (II. 17, 20). This decided the fate of the battle, Bhīma's army fled and his camp was plundered by the unrestrained soldiers of Rāmapāla. ... Rāmapāla showed great consideration towards his captured adversary. He himself helped Bhīma to get down from his elephant (II. 28) and placed the illustrious prisoner in charge of his son Vittapāla, who showed all hospitality and kindness to the fallen foe," (II. 36).

Dr. Majumdar then goes on to say that the commentary found with the text of the *Rāmacaritaṃ* abruptly ends here. This is incorrect, because the commentary ends with II. 35 and not with II. 36. From verse 36 of chap. II, the editors had to prepare their own commentary, and base their translations on it. The following presentation of the course of subsequent events, therefore, is based upon the interpretation of the editors themselves:—

"The verse which refers to the hospitality of Vittapāla to Bhīma also darkly hints that the royal captive did some act by eluding the vigilance of his enemies, which caused rejoicings to *Arkabhū*. The word is not clear and the only possible interpretation we can offer is to take it as "brother's son." Perhaps Bhīma organised some sort of resistance to Rāmapāla by sending secretly from his prison messages to his allies. For in the next verse, we are told that *his* friend Hari rallied his forces and blockaded those of Rāmapāla. The word *Arka-bhu* might refer to Hari and he may be the brother's son of Bhīma. But this is a pure conjecture for the present and other possible identifications of Hari will be discussed later.

"Hari put up a valiant fight and at first scored some successes. (II. 38 ff.). But Rāmapāla's son who was put in charge of the fight "exhausted the golden pitchers by his war-time gifts" (II. 43) and *evidently managed to create some discord* between Hari and Bhīma's followers, which caused obstruction to each other (II. 41). Finally HARI WAS WON OVER and this sealed the fate of Bhīma's army, which, it is said in II. 39 was made to swell by ill-equipped soldiers."

The execution of Bhīma is next described by Dr. Majumdar and he corrects Mm. Śāstrī's interpretation re: the fate of Hari thus:—

"Far from being executed, Hari was established in a position of great influence by Rāmapāla after the battle was over (III. 32). Evidence of further cordial relation

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between Rāmapāla and Hari is furnished by verses III. 39-40 which tell us that Rāmapāla and Hari "met together and shone for a long time in each other's close embrace in the palace" at Rāmāvati: Probably the same cordiality existed also between Hari and Madanapāla (IV. 37, 40).

"The subsequent treatment to Hari justifies the inference made above, that Hari was won over by Rāmapāla, or his son Vittapāla by offer of money and this defection finally shattered the resistance offered by Bhīma's partisans.

"The scattered references to Hari leave no doubt that he became a distinguished person of great importance and was held in great love and esteem by the Pāla kings."

From the close and long embrace of Hari and Rāmapāla, from the "love and esteem" in which Hari was held by Rāmapāla, from the enthusiastic welcome accorded to Hari by the Pāla side, immediately after the victory over Bhīma, one would be inclined to regard Hari as an old friend and partisan of Rāmapāla and not of Bhīma; because the treachery of a traitor is often utilised, but it never evokes love and esteem. I wonder why this aspect of the question did not strike Dr. Majumdar, that after all, Hari might have been a friend of Rāmapāla and not of Bhīma and the text needs careful re-examination before we can brand Hari as a villain and a traitor, won over by Rāmapāla's money. In a subsequent footnote (p. xxxiii) Dr. Majumdar says:—

"It is very tempting to identify Harivarman with Hari, an important but somewhat mysterious figure in *RC.* but no definite opinion can be hazarded on this point."

Now, let us re-examine the text to see how far the interpretation of the course of events by the editors of the new edition of the *Rāmacaritaṃ* can be supported. Up to the commented portion and verse II. 36 with which the uncommented portion begins, the text needs being quoted only in translation, as there is no difference of opinion up to that point.

Chapter II, Verse 20. He, Bhaṇa, while he was seated on an elephant disgracefully panic-stricken, was captured by Rāmapāla making war, with (men) of all quarters of the earth won over to his side.

Verses 21 to 27 are in eulogium of Bhīma. They are left out. The English translations are given from verse 28 consecutively.

That enemy,—king Bhīma, was helped to descend (from the back of his elephant) by him (Rāmapāla) who distributed among his successful followers jewels, treasures, after having caused jubilation by good messages to his fatherland (Varendrī) reoccupied at an auspicious moment. //28//.

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Bhima, whose beautiful encampment was crushed by the impact of the unrestrained soldiers of Rāmapāla, and whose elephants used the full speed of their legs as the only means of escape (from annihilation). //29//

That Bhima who was deserted by his cavalry and had no buffaloes (for transport work) whose infantry was shaken and supremacy destroyed and whose broad face was without its beauty and hung down on accout of the extreme humiliation (lit. excess) of defeat. //30//

All at once, (that king Bhīma) became deprived of his territory and devoid of all constituent elements (of sovereignty,) with his eye-sight and hearing permanently impaired, who became the abode of all kinds of calamities, whose swords etc. were thrown about and whose wife had no place to set her foot upon. //31//

(That Bhima) whose war by the help of elephants having flows of ichor issuing from their broad cheeks, was rendered futile and the noise of whose army went on increasing by wailings reverberating from all quarters and who trembled with fear. //32//

People also saw that Bhīma with his line of vehicles and the trouble of military practice with arrows etc. rendered unfruitful, afflicted in various ways, vanquished and with both his hands drooping. //33//

That Bhīma was forthwith deprived of all his wealth consisting of gold, silver and jewels arranged in heaps and measured in *prasthas,* which disappeared on account of their forcible possession by merciless wanderers. //34//

Thus with regard to that Bhima, they (the warriors) now that they became paramours of the damsels of gods, *vidyādharas* and *gandharvas,* felt sad though their enjoyment was kept up by the intense love (of these celestial beauties,) which they had won according to the injunction of the *śāstras,* //35//.

(From the next śloka begins the originally uncommented portion, now for the first time commented on and translated by the present editors, Messrs. Basak, Banerji and Majumdar).

Then perforce, that person Bhima, whose policy had attained ruin and who had got frightened, was transferred to the charge of his son Vittapāla by Rāmapāla of great prowess (or speed). //36//

The statements about Bhīma's eluding the watchfulness of his enemies, the rallying of *his* forces by his friend Hari, Hari's engaging the forces of Rāmapāla for the second time, all rest on the interpretation of the subsequent ślokas, which thus require careful re-examination.

अयमातिथ्यकृतार्थोलभताभिमतं न पुण्यजनतोऽस्मात् ।
सपरिखतिरङ्गदोरीहितमस्यन् कमवहदकर्कभुवः ॥३७॥

The two sanskrit scholars among the editors, viz: Mr. Banerji and Dr. Basak could not agree regarding the interpretation of this *śloka,* with the result that the two interpretations have been printed together. Dr.

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Majumdar, the third editor has followed Banerji's interpretation and rejected that of Basak without giving any reason. These two interpretations are diametrically opposed to each other and are explained below:

BOTH BASAK AND BANERJI: — आतिथ्यकृतार्थः (satisfied with hospitality) अयं (this) भीमः (Bhīma) अस्मात् (from this) पुण्यजनतः (man of good deeds, i.e. Vittapāla, son of Rāmapāla) अभिमतं (desired object, i.e. his own release) न अलभत (did not receive).

(*Trans.*) (*Though*) *satisfied with hospitality, this Bhīma did not receive his desired object (release) from this man of good deeds—i.e. Vittapāla.*

The agreement of the translators ends here.

Banerji: —सपरिणतिः प्रणतिपरः (making obeisance) अङ्गदः अङ्गं ददानि य स शरणं प्रपन्न इत्यर्थस्तथाभूतः सन् (making submission physically) अरीहितमस्यो श्रेरीणामीहितमुद्योगम अस्यन् विक्षिपन् (eluding the vigilance of his enemies) अरीहितेषु मायया याञ्चार्पणादिभि विक्षेपं जनयन्नित्यर्थः (i.e. by pretended submission and humility, causing misdirection to the vigilance of his enemies) अर्क्कभुव ज्येष्ठभ्रातुः सुतस्य (of the elder brother's son) कम् अवहत् मुदमकरोत् (caused pleasure to).

(*Trans.*) *Making obeisance and physical submission and thus eluding the vigilance of his enemies, (he Bhīma) caused pleasure to his elder brother's son.*

In a footnote, Banerji gives a second meaning of सपरिणति as परिणति परिणामः तया सह वर्त्तमानः, शुभ-परिणाम इत्यर्थ. i.e. one having a bright future.

It is not reasonable to describe a man as having a bright future when we find him cruelly executed, a few *ślokas* after.

Now Dr. Basak's explanation is as follows: —

सपरिणतिः प्राप्तकालः (one whose day of reckoning has arrived, one whose days had drawn to a close) अङ्गदोरीहितं अङ्गानां दोषोश्च बाह्वोश्च (of the limbs and arms) ईहितं चेष्टां (movement) त्यन् परित्यजन्नित्यर्थः (giving up) अर्कभुवो यमस्य (of the sun-born, i.e. Yama, God of Death) कं सुखमवहज्जनयामास (caused pleasure) शत्रुणा पश्चाद्धन्यमानत्वादस्येत्यर्थः (Because of the fact that he will be slain by his enemies afterwards).

(*Trans.*) *Bhīma, whose days were numbered, gave up all movements of limbs and arms and thus caused pleasure to Yama.*

Considering the trend of the previous ślokas already quoted in translation, I am inclined to think that Dr. Basak's interpretation is by far the more reasonable one. It is not reasonable to hold that a dangerous enemy like

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Bhīma was allowed to elude vigilance by any means whatsoever, or to hold that the poet called him a man having a bright future. In explaining the *śloka* from the point of view of Rāma, *Arkkabhū* has been explained as Sugrīva, son of the Sun-god. In the case of Rāmapāla, the word appears to be intended for Yama, another son of the Sun-god and not for a chimerical elder brother's son.

We thus see that if we accept Dr. Basak's explanation, which appears to me to be the more reasonable of the two, the story of Bhīma's eluding his enemies' vigilance or his flight from captivity at once falls to the ground.

The so-called rally of the scattered forces of Bhīma by Hari, who has been taken to be a friend of Bhīma by all the previous scholars, without at all considering the possibility that he may have been a friend of Rāmapāla instead, is based, in my opinion, on a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the text. The explanation by the present editors and my own explanation are given below:

अथ भीमानीकं तेन महातरसा शनैरमेयवलम् ।
समचीयत हरिसुहृदा सुविहितपरमण्डलावरोधेन ॥३८॥

Explanation in the New Edition:—अथ अनन्तरं महातरसा महावलेन सुविहित परमण्डलावरोधेन सुसाधितः परमण्डलस्य शत्रुनृपमण्डलस्य अवरोधो येन स तेन हरिसुहृदा तेन प्रसिद्धेन हर्य्याख्येन भीमस्य सुहृदा अमेयवलम् अतुलपराक्रमं भीमानीकं भीमस्य सैन्यं शनैः समचीयत समाहृयत एकीकृतमित्यर्थः ।

Trans. In the meantime, the army of Bhīma of unequalled strength was rallied gradually by Hari, the famous friend of his, who possessed great valour and who thoroughly effected a blockade to the circle of hostile chiefs.

I would explain and translate the above thus:—

अथ अनन्तरं महातरसा महावलेन हरिसुहृदा हर्य्याभिधानेन रामपालस्य सुहृदा सुविहित-परमण्डलावरोधेन सुसाधितः परमण्डलस्य शत्रुमण्डलस्य भोमराज्यस्य अवरोधो येन स तेन अमेयवलं अतुलपराक्रमं भीमानीकं भीमस्य सैन्यं शन समचीयत समाहृतं वन्दीकृतमित्यर्थः ।

Trans. After this (i.e. after the defeat of Bhīma and scattering of his forces), the powerful army of Bhīma was gradually captured (gathered together, made his own) by Hari, the valiant friend (of Rāmapāla) who had laid well-planned siege to the kingdom of the foe (i.e. Bhīma).

The previous *ślokas* all describe the dire discomfiture of the army of Bhīma. Thus the present śloka describes how this routed army was ultimately captured by Hari, the valiant friend of Rāmapāla, who waited on

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the other side of Bhīma's forces barring their way of flight and who, like a skilful fisherman, made a catch of the entire shoal.

In explaining the *śloka* from the point of view of Rāma, the editors have quite consistently explained the term *Hari-su-hrt* as the friend monkey i.e. Sugrīva, friend of Rāma. It is only reasonable to hold that the term means Hari, the friend of Rāmapāla, and not the friend of Bhīma, when the *śloka* has to be explained from the point of view of Rāmapāla.

The next four *ślokas* are all descriptive of the sad plight of Bhīma's army, and there does not appear to be a single expression to mean that it was engaging the forces of Rāmapāla for the second time or that Hari had been bribed over to the side of Rāmāpala. I quote below the text, the translation by the editors and my own translation.

क्षिप्तविपक्षावनिना कीशवलेनेप्सितं महोत्साहात् ।
उन्मूलितेरितपरस्परकृतसंघट्टनागचयम् ॥३६॥

TRANS. ED. (Bhima's army) which desired to be increased by ill-equipped (lit. naked) soldiers, by which the land belonging to the enemy was thrown into confusion and the elephant troops in which were annihilated dashing upon one another when urged to speed.

Trans. by the present writer: (Bhīma's army) which in its impetuosity (for flight) was perforce increased by the naked (unarmed) forces (i.e. camp-followers) which had run into and thus thrown into confusion the land belonging to the opposite side, and the elephants in which had been annihilated or scattered by dashing against one another.

सम्भ्रमदङ्करचोभिरुचितमुरुवाजिराजिदीर्णधरम् ।
व्यस्तदशमस्तकापत्यसार्थमीरिततरोत्थितमनोरथकम् ॥४०॥

In my opinion, the editors have failed to understand the expression करचोभिरुचितं in the first line. From the mention of वाजि or horse immediately afterwards, it should have been apparent to the editors that the poet is speaking of करी or elephants, and not of people disaffected with *Kara* or taxes. The editors explain करचोभिरुचित्तं thus:—करचोभिणां करा राजभागधेयास्तैः चोभिणां जातचोभाणां रुचितं रुचकं मनोज्ञमिति यावत् करविक्षुब्धैर्जनैरभिनन्दितमित्यर्थः । The editors thus translate the expression as, "agreeable to people who were disaffected on account of taxation."

I would explain the expression thus:—कराणां शुण्डानां चोभं आन्दोलनं वर्त्तमानं येषां तैः गजैः रुचितं शोभमानं i.e. having elephants, moving their trunks wildly.

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The first word in the *śloka* is सम्भ्रमदं । It has been explained as भयङ्करं, terrible,—holding सम्भ्रम to mean terror. I think सम्भ्रम should be explained better by taking it to mean confusion, hurry.

With these two corrections, the translation by the editors is reproduced below:—

TRANS. (Bhīma's army) which produced confusion; which was a sight to see with elephants moving their trunks wil "y; which rent the surface of the earth by its immense cavalry; which was in a chaotic condition; where happiness was at an end; which was without a leader; whose usefulness was gone, whose mind rose up and was greatly agitated and which had no chariots.

दैवेनेव जीवितमभिजिघांसुनापत्यपत्तिपटलेन ।
विहितान्योन्यप्रतिवन्धेनोपर्युपरिसम्बाधम् ॥४१॥

TRANS. ED. (Bhīma's army) blocked up with infantry belonging to (Hari's) sons, which as if through destiny being intent on destroying lives caused obstruction to each other, now and again.

Trans. by the present writer: (Bhīma's army) For which Destiny bent upon killing lives had ordained repeated barrages by the army of (Hari's) sons through the mutual collision (of the two armies).

N.B.—Here the fact that Hari's army was barring the way of the flight of Bhīma's army is fairly clearly stated.

वद्धरुधिरस्रोतोवहमवधूतकवन्धमूर्द्धचयचितम् ।
कासरवाहनकवलत्तिप्तमहाशरकलापमिति ॥४२॥

Kāsara means a buffalo, and *Kāsara-vāhana* should mean Yama, whose vehicle is the buffalo. Why the editors have gone out of their way to make the soldiers ride on buffaloes passes my comprehension. *Mahāśara* easily means those who wield large shafts. Here also the editors have, in my opinion, missed the exact meaning by taking the expression to mean simply "large shafts." The editors' translation and my translation, therefore, differ considerably.

TRANS. ED. (Bhīma's army) in which s. eams of blood continued to flow, which was covered with the heads and trunks (of dead bodies) shaking to and fro, the soldiers of which riding buffaloes, were hurling stupendous arrows.

Trans. by the present writer: (Bhīma's army) in which rivers of blood were set in motion; in which (severed) heads and trunks kept quivering and in which shooters of large shafts had been hurled into the mouth of the buffalo-vehicled god (Yama).

With this *śloka* ends the composite (कुलकम्) four *ślokas* describing

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Bhīma's army. It will be evident to all scholars who will go through what has been written above, that these four *ślokas* only describe the dire distress of Bhīma's army captured by Hari and there is nothing in them t show that this rabble engaged Rāmapāla's army for the second time. Mm. Śāstri's thrilling description of a well-contested battle in which both sides lost much and in which every inch of the ground was contested, is pure imagination.

The next two *ślokas* require quoting in translation only, as there are no controversial points.

There shone the son of the blessed one (Rāmapāla) who had his Sāmantas to protect him against all the enemies put together (or to protect the world against all enemies) and who as liberal in his gifts as Karṇa, exhausted the golden pitchers by his wartime gifts. //43//

N.B.—This very natural act of rewarding the helpers after a victory has been construed by Dr. Majumdar (Intro. p. xxx) as creating discord between Bhīma and Hari, by bribing Hari to win him over. As brought out above, there is nothing in the text to warrant such a construction being given to the course of events.

The world-domineering power of the moral victor (Rāmapāla) attached itself even to his son; and the latter elevated by that power implanted his lustre on earth. //44//

N.B.—The next, two *ślokas* form a couplet(युग्म). The explanation and translation of the editors, suffer from want of lucidity, in addition to the defect of their taking Hari to be Bhīma's friend. I have, therefore, to offer my own explanation and translation.

उरुतरतरसोपक्रम्योत्पाट्याकृष्टविपुलभूमिभृता ।
तदनुजगत्प्राणभुवा संपादितपरमहौषधीकेन ॥४५॥
तेन प्रतिहृतमोहेन लक्षणेनारिराकलितमायः ।
निन्ये मृत्युस्थानं जेता स पराक्रमेण हरेः ॥४६॥ युग्म ॥

अन्वयमुखेाव्याख्या । तदनु (Then) उरुतरतरसा (by one possessing very great prowess) आकृष्टभूमिभृता (by one who has attracted land-holders or kings to his own side) जगत्प्राणभुवा (by one who was the life of the world) संपादितपरमहौषधीकेन (by one who had administered the most effective remedy to his foes) प्रतिहृतमोहेन (by one who had done away with the spell (cast by Bhīma on the people of Varendrī)) लक्षणेन (by one who had the auspicious marks or features) तेन (by that (Vittapāla)) हरेः पराक्रमेण (by the valour of HARI) उपक्रम्य उत्पाट्य (by seizing and by uprooting, i.e.

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by force) जेता (one who had conquered Varendrī) स आकलितमायः अरिः (that foe, the exhibitor of spells, i.e. Bhīma) मृत्युस्थानं निन्ये (was taken to the place of execution.)

TRANSLATION. Then by him (Vittapāla) of very great valour, who had attracted kings to his own side, who was the life of the world, who had administered the most effective remedy to his enemy, who had done away with the spell (cast by Bhīma), who had auspicious marks,—the foe, the exhibitor of spells, the conqueror (of Varendrī) was taken to the execution ground by force through the prowess of Hari.

The next *śloka* (47) says that Bhīma had to witness the beheading of his kinsmen and partisans with his own eyes; and the next two *ślokas* describe Bhīma done to death by numerous arrows, shouting and hurling defiance with his last breath.

This finishes chapter II and the episode of the execution of Bhīma. I hope, scholars will now see that the story of Bhīma's eluding the vigilance of his captors or his flight from captivity, and the rally of his forces by his friend Hari, the second engagement with the forces of Rāmapāla, Hari's defection through bribes and the consequent second defeat of the Kaivartta army, are all myths.

The third chapter begins with a long description of Varendrī situated between the holy waters of the Karatoyā and the Ganges and the description runs up to 28 verses. Verses 29-40 are devoted to the description of the foundation and the glories of Rāmāvatī, where, incidentally it is stated (v. 32) that Rāmapāla had established Hari in a position of great influence. Verses 39 and 40 have also been taken by the editors to refer to Hari, but Hari is not mentioned there by name and the expression देवौ may refer to Rāmapāla and Vittapāla.

Dr. Majumdar was tempted to identify Hari with Harivarman of Vaṅga—(Intro. xxxiii. fn.) but he was not prepared to hazard any definite opinion on the point. Harivarma was the maternal cousin of Mahīpala II, half-brother of Rāmapāla and it is highly probable that he would help Rāmapāla in his great undertaking of the recovery of his ancestral kingdom of Varendrī from the usurping Kaivarttas. He appears to have helped Rāmapāla by investing Varendrī from the east, and by this well-planned investment (सुविहितपरमण्डलावरोध— II. 38), he succeeded in placing the Kaivartta army between two fires and capturing the entire runaways. Fortunately, we have an epigraphical support for this investment of

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Varendrī by the Vaṅgāla army about this period (*c.* 1074 A.D.). In the Nālandā inscription of Vipula-śrī-mitra,[1] which is ascribed by the editor to the first half of the twelfth century A.D. (say, 1140 A.D.), Vipula-śrī-mitra says that the Guru, fourth in ascent from him, Karuṇā-śrī-mitra of Somapura (modern Pāhāḍpur in Rājshāhi district) was burnt to death when his house was set on fire by an army of Vaṅgāla. The Candras of Vaṅga were peaceful people and are not known to have taken any expedition to Varendrī. The Candras went down before aggressive Karṇa who appears to have put Jātavarma on the throne of Vaṅga. He defied Divya, the usurper, but is not known to have undertaken any expedition against him. Hari's investment and Vaṅgāla investment therefore coincide and the conclusion is irresistible that Harivarma, king of Vaṅga, actively helped Rāmapāla by investing Varendrī from the east, in the course of which Somapura-vihāra was burnt; and by this well-planned investment, the entire army of Bhīma, already defeated and disorganised by its encounter with the army of Rāmapāla, became an easy capture for Hari, the friend of Rāmapāla.

On Intro. p. xxxiii. Dr. Majumdar says:—

"All that we can safely conclude is that Rāmapāla succeeded in re-asserting the supremacy of the Pālas over wide dominions and that his kingdom extended to Assam in the east and Orissa in the south. His campaign in Orissa probably indicates that his authority was fully established over western Bengal. He may thus be said to have ruled over Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam."

I am afraid Dr. Majumdar, in writing the above, failed to visualise the political condition of eastern India after the recovery of Varendrī by Rāmapāla. The Varmas were in full occupation of Vaṅga and of probably the entire region south of the Ganges and east of the Bhāgīrathī. Vijayasena, who was soon powerful enough to oust the Varmans and to lay low the successors of Rāmapāla, was fast rising into importance in Rāḍhā. The whole of Kaliṅga, including Utkala was under the mighty Coḍagaṅga. Under these circumstances, to call Rāmapāla master of the whole of Eastern India, appears to be a rather lamentable non-appreciation of the actual facts.

Vijayasena, in his Deopāḍā inscription claims to have given दिव्यभुवः i.e. lands of Divya to प्रतिक्षितिभृत, i.e. his rival king, and accepted from him

1 *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 97 ff.

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other lands in return. This is a clear hint of Vijayasena's having helped Rāmapāla in his recovery of Varendrī. Now let us take note of the following two consecutive *ślokas* in chapter III of the *Rāmacaritam:*

यो वाजिनामधिभुवा[1] नागावलिसंयतेरितस्कन्धः ।
कृतसाहायकविधिना देवः[2] प्रियकारिणाप्रीणि ॥४६॥
तस्य जितकामरूपादिविषयविनिवृत्त[3]मानसंपाद्यः ।
महिमानमाप[4] न नृपो यतमानस्य प्रजाभिरक्षार्थम् ॥४७॥

[*Notes.* (1) "अश्वपतिः, गजपतिः, नरपतिः, राजत्रयाधिपतिः" इत्यते सेनराजानामुपाधयः

(2) Ms. देनः

(3) Ms. विनिवृत्तः

(4) H.S. मायन । His interpretation of मायन as a proper name is quite untenable.]

It will be observed that R.G.B. in the first footnote is thinking of the Sena king. All the same, he has failed to see सेनः in देनः of the second footnote and has corrected it to देवः । I am of opinion that this is a reference to Vijayasena's having helped Rāmapāla by his cavalry force and, as in the case of विनिवृत्तः in the 3rd footnote corrected to विनिवृत्त in the text, देनः has to be corrected to देन and then further corrected to सेन instead of देवः । This will make the text read—

सेनप्रियकारिणाप्रीणि ॥

I would explain śloka 46 thus:—नागावलिसंयत=ईरित—स्कन्धः (one, who could send forward to battle a solid division of elephant forces) यः (that king Rāmapāla) वाजिनामधिभुवा (by the master of cavalry) कृतसहायकविधिना[1] (by one whose policy was to help) सेनप्रियकारिणा (by the Sena who was bent on doing pleasing deeds) अप्रीणि (was pleased, propitiated).

Trans. That king (Rāmapāla) who had the power to send to battle an organised division of elephant forces was propitiated by the Sena bent on pleasing, whose policy was to help (Rāmapāla) and who was a master of the Cavalry. //46//

In the next *śloka* a certain king is referred to who had conquered Kāmarūpa and other regions and whom Rāmapāla refrained from checkmating for fear of again throwing his kingdom into convulsion. The editors ask in the commentary if he is the same king described as प्रियकारी in the previous śloka. To me he appears to be the सेनप्रियकारी, who had helped Rāmapāla, probably by lending cavalry, which Rāmapāla evidently lacked. The fact that he was allowed to proceed to Kāmarūpa and conquer the country practically marching over the back of Rāmapāla, and Rāmapāla

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had to keep quiet all the same for fear of again throwing his kingdom into convulsion so soon, shows the growing power of Vijaya Sena, for the king can be nobody else.

The translation of this śloka by the editors is quoted below.

"Did not the king (the great ally of Rāmapāla) who had returned from Kāmarūpa and other countries conquered by him and as such was a fit recepient of honours,—receive honours from that king (Rāmapāla) who restrained pride for the protection of his subjects in every quarter?" //47//

One point remains to be cleared up. Śloka 44 of Chapter III is as follows:—

खपरित्राणनिमित्तं पत्या यः प्रार्द्दिशीयेन ।
वरवारणेन च निजस्यन्दनदानेन वर्म्मणाराधि ॥

Now, if Harivarma was the man who had helped Rāmapāla so much to recover Varendrī, and was thus in the friendliest of terms with Rāmapāla, why should he be so anxious for his own safety and eager to propitiate Rāmapāla. The answer is simple. In the years that were spent after the recovery of Varendrī, in the foundation of Rāmāvatī provided with big tanks with mountain-like banks, and the consolidation of the disturbed kingdom, Harivarma had died and Vaṅga had passed to his younger brother Sāmalavarma. From the Vajrayoginī plate of Sāmalavarma, this transfer of succession to a collateral appears to have been accompanied by some war or violence.[1] It was natural, therefore, that Sāmalavarma, the new king of Vaṅga, should be anxious to propitiate such an intimate friend of his brother Harivarma, as Rāmapāla was.

Though I have been constrained to criticise a part of the new edition of the *Rāmacaritam*, I think I echo the sentiment of all scholars when I say that this monument of patience, industry and scholarship has earned for the editors of the publication ever-lasting gratitude of all interested in archaeology. The present discussion has been rendered possible only because of the publication of the edition.

N. K. Bhattasali

1 *Bhāratavarṣa*, Kārttika, 1340 B.S.

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Pīpardūlā Copper-plate Inscription of King Narendra of Śarabhapura

The interesting copper-plate charter discussed in the following pages belongs to a family of Brāhmaṇas who are the land-holders of the village of Pīpardūlā. At present it is with Mr. Brajvilas Prasad Dube, Mālguzār of Pīpardūlā, who kindly allowed the Mahakosala Historical Society to prepare a number of rubbings of the plates and the seal for the purpose of publication.[1] The village of Pīpardūlā lies about 20 miles from Ṭhākurdiyā, the findspot of a grant of Pravararāja, and is only a few miles from the western borders of the Sāraṅgarh State, Chhattisgarh, C.P. It was formerly within the jurisdiction of the Bilaspur Dist., but now forms part of the Raipur Dist., C.P.

The Pīpardūlā charter is engraved on three copper-plates each measuring about $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. Each side of the plates contains five lines of writing. About one inch from the left margin and in the third line of writing, the plates have a roundish hole for the ring on which they are strung. The ends of the ring, which has not been cut out, are secured in a circular SEAL about $2\frac{4}{5}''$ in diameter. The seal resembles those found with the charters of the so-called Śarabhapura kings. It is demarcated into two halves by two horizontal lines in the middle. The upper part contains the representation of Gajalakṣmī, with Lakṣmī standing to full front, so often described by scholars discussing the records of the rulers of the Śarabhapura dynasty; the lower half of the seal is occu-

1 In February, 1943, the plates were shown to Mr. Motilal, nephew of Pandit L. P. Pandeya, who happened to visit the village in course of an exploration tour on behalf of the Mahakosala Historical Societ, [For Mahākosala as the name of South Kosala, however, see Sircar, *Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 57]. They were brought to Pandit Pandeya who prepared a transcript (cf. *Hitavāda*, Nagpur, March 10, 1943) and several sets of rubbings of the plates and the seal. Sircar agreed to edit the record jointly with Pandit Pandeya at the latter's request. About the end of March, 1943, the rubbings were sent to Sircar together with the Pandit's transcript and his notes such as those on the discovery of the grant and on the geographical names occurring in the record. In writing the paper, Sircar had thus to rely on the rubbings supplied by Pandit Pandeya; he had no opportunity of examining the original plates.

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pied by a verse referring to the king who issued the charter. The plates are in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The CHARACTERS are of the box-headed variety of the so-called Central Indian alphabet as found in other records of the Śarabhapura kings. They are less elongated and less angular, and are therefore earlier in date, than those employed in the known records of the later members of the Śarbhapura family. Medial *ī* is of the older type and is not represented by a dot in the circle (which indicates medial *i*) as in the Ārang grant of Jayarāja and the Ṭhākurdiyā grant of Pravararāja. The earlier form of *j* occurs occasionally (cf. ll. 5, 15). Medial *ā* in *mā* in the word *pravarddhamāna* (l. 19) and in *ṇā* in the word *brāhmaṇā°* (l. 2) is not of the usual type as in the other cases of *mā* and *ṇā*. Of the initial vowels, *ā*, *i*, *u* and *e* are found in the inscription.

The LANGUAGE is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the legend on the seal and the two imprecatory verses about the end of the charter, the record is entirely written in prose. There is Prakritism in some words, e.g., in the name Svāmippa (Sanskrit *Svāmyātman;* cf. South Indian names like Venkatappa). The style is simpler than that of other records of the family and indicates an early date. As regards ORTHOGRAPHY, a consonant with *r* is often doubled. The rules of *Sandhi* are violated in *vājasaneya-ātreya°* (l. 5).

The legend on the seal says that the charter belongs to king Narendra who was the son of Śarabha and who conquered the earth with his own sword. The charter was issued from Śarabhapura by *Mahārāja* Narendra on *the 10th day of Mārgaśira in the third year* of his reign. It is interesting that the charter does not record any grant of the king himself, but is only the confirmation of a grant made by a person named Rāhudeva.[2] It is an order to the agriculturist householders residing at the village of Śarkarāpadraka in the *bhoga* called Nandapura. They are informed that the village is granted by Rāhudeva in favou of a Brāhmaṇa named Svāmippa and that the king sanctioned the grant by making the village *acāṭa-bhaṭa-prāveśya* (not to be entered by regular and irregular troops).[3] The agriculturists are therefore enjoined to pay regularly their periodical dues (*pratyāya*, revenue)

2 Cf. the inscriptions of Sudevarāja, *M.H.S. Papers*, II, p. 40 ff.

3 The passage has been differently interpreted. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I p. 371, n. 6.

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including *meya* (government share of the produce paid in kind) and *hiraṇya* (government share of certain crops paid in cash) to the Brāhmaṇa donee. The future *bhogapatis* are also entreated to protect the grant. The charter proper is followed by two imprecatory verses and the date when it was issued. The plates were engraved by a person named Śrīdatta.

It appears that Rāhudeva was a *bhogapati* of the Nandapura *bhoga* that formed part of the dominions of Narendra. In some records, the word *bhoga*, like *bhukti*, seems to be used in the sense of an ordinary administrative unit; but in a few cases it possibly indicates an *inām*. The *bhoga* tenure,[4] however, does not usually appear to have carried with it the limited right of alienation which Rāhudeva seems to have had with reference to the village granted. The reference to future *bhogapatis* who were entreated not to confiscate the village (in official capacity) possibly suggests that *bhoga* implies in the present record an administrative unit like district and that the *bhogapati* was an officer in charge of a district (cf. *viṣayapati*, etc.). But Rāhudeva could not possibly have alienated a village in the capacity of a mere bureaucratic officer. It may therefore be supposed that he had a limited right of ownership of the village. Alienation of the land on his part required the sanction of the king.[5]

From epigraphic and numismatic sources, we have hitherto learnt of five kings of the so-called Śarabhapura dynasty.[6]

4 Cf. the form of tenure called *rāja-bhogga* in Buddhist literature. The holder of this tenure was empowered to exact all dues accruing to the government within the boundaries of the district or estate granted to him. He had to render to government no account of the dues thus received, as they were his own perquisite. He could hold his own courts, but could draw no rent. The peasantry had to pay him the tithe of the rice grown; but he could not vary the amount, though it was not always strictly a tithe and by royal decrees could be varied in different localities. The same was the case with the import, or ferry, or octroi duties. The rate of payment and the places where the levy could be made were fixed by government. The line of distinction between the collection of dues by civil servants or farmers of the taxes and their collection by a grantee of *rāja-bhogga* was very narrow. See *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 179. *Bhogika* has been explained in the *Select Inscriptions* as either an officer in charge of the royal stable or a *jāgīrdār*. The word may possibly also indicate an officer in charge of a *bhoga*.

5 As to the original meaning of these territorial terms, it should be noticed that the *jāgīrdārs* of ancient and medieval India were almost like governors or feudatory chiefs. Cf. *bhoga* (enjoyment), in *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 286, 328.

6 Cf. Mirashi, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 16.

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1. Prasannamātra;

2. Jayarāja, son of Prasannamātra; issued charter from Śarabhapura; known date regnal year 5;

3. Mānamātra, son of Prasannamātra;

4. Sudevarāja, son of Mānamātra; issued charters from Śarabhapura; last known date regnal year 10;

5. Pravararāja, son of Mānamātra; issued charter from Śrīpura; known date regnal year 3.

The names of Nos. 2, 4 and 5 are quoted above as they are usually found in the legends of the seals of their charters. In the text of the charters however the word *mahā°* is prefixed to the names. It appears that words like *mahāsudeva-rāja* were coined to imply the same thing as *Sudeva-mahārāja* or *mahārāja-Sudeva*. The elements *mahā°* and *°rāja*, respectively prefixed and suffixed to the names, therefore, do not appear to form essential parts of the names.[7]

As the Pīpardūlā grant is palæographically earlier than the records of the later members of the Śarabhapura dynasty, Śarabha and his son *Mahārāja* Narendra are to be placed early in the genealogical scheme. This suggestion seems to be supported by the fact that Śarabha, father of Narendra, was probably the founder of Śarabhapura from where most of the records of the family were issued. It is true that Śarabha is not given any royal title in the legend of the seal of the Pīpardūlā grant. This is however of no great importance, as the reference is found in a verse in which the author's freedom was rather limited. The versifier was moreover not skilled enough; he allowed a *laghu-saṣṭha* in the first foot of the verse and this he could have easily avoided by writing *°jita-kṣiteḥ* instead of *°jita-bhuvaḥ*. Further, the fact that *Mahārāja* Narendra mentions the name of his father on his seal possibly shows that Śarabha was a personality of considerable importance.

7 That *mahā°* did not form any part of the names is possibly proved by the fact that it could have been easily employed in the seal legend if only the authors of the verses so desired. They could have written, *e.g.*, महासुदेवराजस्य for श्रीमत्सुदेवराजस्य, महाप्रवरराजस्य for श्रीमत्प्रवरराजस्य, and श्रीमहाजयराजस्य for श्रीमतो जयराजस्य in the legends. The word *mahā°*, which is also used as an ordinary honorific or distinctive epithet, may likewise be omitted in referring to names like Mahā-Bhavagupta and Mahā-Śivagupta. *Mahāśiva* seems to be an honorifice in the name Mahāśiva-Tivara. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 64. [The above is Sircar's view with which Pandeya is inclined to disagree].

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Pipardulā Copper-plate Inscription of King Narendra

Seal

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Pipardulā Copper-plate Inscription of King Narendra

First plate: Second side

Second plate: First side

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The father's name Śarabha and the son issuing his charter from the city of Śarabhapura, again, suggest that the city was named after Śarabha who probably founded it.

King Śarabha, father of Narendra and the supposed founder of Śarabhapura, may further be identified with Śarabharāja, maternal grandfather of Goparāja who died at Eraṇ in 510 A.D.[8] This identification would place Śarabha and Narendra about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. We do not as yet know if Prasannamātra was the immediate successor of Narendra; but apparently the interval between the reign-periods of these two kings was not long.[9] It is possible to suggest that Śarabha and his successors whom we know from inscriptions and coins ruled for about a century, i.e., about the second half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century. The last known king Pravara ruled about the middle of the sixth century. He issued his charter from Śrīpura (modern Sīrpur in the Raipur Dist.) where he probably transferred his capital from Śarabhapura.[10] In the second half of the sixth century, the Pāṇḍava kings, who originally ruled over the country to the west of the Śarabhapura kingdom, became lords of South Kosala, *i.e.*, the modern Raipur-Bilāspur-Sambalpur region. The rule of the Śarabhapura kings was probably terminated by Tīvara, the Pāṇḍava king of Kosala, who issued his charters from Śrīpura. Tīvara seems to have conquered Śrīpura either from Pravara or from one of the latter's immediate successors. As suggested in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*[11] this Tīvara was probably defeated by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I before the 37th year of the latter's reign; both of these kings ruled about the second half of the sixth century A.D. Prof. V. V. Mirashi suggests[12] the dates *c.* 515-30 for Pravara, *c.* 525-68 for Mādhavavarman I and *c.* 530-50 for Tīvara; but all the three dates

8 See the Eraṇ stone pillar inscription of the time of Bhānu Gupta dated in the Gupta year 191; *Sel. Ins.*, I, pp. 335-36. The identification of the founder of Śarabhapura with Śarabharāja of the Eraṇ epigraph was suggested by Prof. Mirashi, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 17.

9 Pandit Pandeya likes to suggest that Narendra conquered Śarabhapura from Prasannamātra or Mānamātra, but was soon driven out by Jaya or Sudeva. Sircar does not subscribe to this suggestion especially on grounds of palaeography and style.

10 Cf. Mirashi, *op. cit.*

11 Sircar, *Journ. Dept. Lett.*, XXVI; *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, 1939, p. 129. Mr. A. Ghosh has tried recently in *EI.* to revive the old theory assigning Tivara to a late date. Cf. also criticism of Mirashi, *op. cit.*

12 *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, pp. 21-22.

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appear to be rather early. The chronology of the Śarabhapura kings cannot be settled in the present state of our knowledge; but the following tentative scheme may serve the purpose until further evidence is forthcoming as to the number of the rulers and the duration of their ruling periods. Śarabha, *c.* 465-80; Narendra, *c.* 480-93; Prasannamātra, *c.* 495-510; Jaya. As shown in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I possibly ruled in *c.* 535-85 A.D. Tīvara seems to have ruled in the second half of the sixth century; he may be tentatively assigned to *c.* 565-80.

The location of Śarabhapura has not yet been definitely settled. In any case, it does not appear to have been far off from Śrīpura in the present Raipur Dist. As the records issued from the city have all been discovered in the country about the Raipur Dist., it should possibly be located in the same region. It is indeed probable that Pravara founded the new capital very near the old city which had been the capital of his forefathers. The question of identification must remain open until further evidence is forthcoming. Among the identifications suggested by scholars, the one with Sarpa[o] or Sarabha-garh,[13] chief town of a Zamindari of that name in the Gangpur State (Sambalpur Dist., Orissa), appears to be not unsatisfactory, although, it should be noted, no record issued from Śarabhapura has so far been discovered in that locality.

Of the other geographical names, Nandapura *bhoga* is not traceable in the vicinity of Pīpardūlā, the findspot of the present record. But there is one Nandgaon on the Mahānadī in the Sāraṅgarh State and close to it there is a big village called Sākarā which may represent the Śarkarāpadraka of the grant. There are two adjoining villages called Nandaur[14] big and small in the Bilaspur Dist., about 40 miles from Sākarā. The site of these two

13 The identification was suggested by Pandit Pandeya, *Proc. Ed. Or. Con.* p. 461. The city has been identified by some scholars (*e.g.*, R. L. Mitra) with Sambalpur and by others with Sāraṅgarh. Hiralal suggested that the Śarabhapura kings gave this name to Śrīpura which they had conquered from the rulers of the Pāṇḍava dynasty. Pandit Pandeya is now inclined to think that the identification of Śarabhapura with Saravā near Sheorinārāyan and the Mahānadī or with Sarhā near Nandaur is not impossible. Sten Konow's identification with Śarabhavaram about 20 miles from Rajahmundry is improbable.

14 For a silver coin of Prasannamātra discovered at Nandaur, see Pandeya, *IHQ.*, XV; *MKHS. Papers*, II, App. p. 24.

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villages, not far from Sakti on the B. N. Ry., contains some old relics and may actually represent the headquarters of the Nandapura *bhoga*. There is another village called Sākarā in the Raipur Dist.; but no locality of the name like Nandapura can be traced in its neighbourhood.

TEXT

Seal

1 खड्गधाराजितभुवः[15] शर[भात्मा]मजन्मनः (।*)
2 नृपतेश्श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य शासनं रिपुशासिन[ः*] (॥*)

First Plate: Second Side

1. [16] स्वस्ति (॥*) शरभपुरान्महाराजश्रीनरेन्द्रः
2. नन्दपुरभोगीय-शर्करापद्रके ब्राह्मणा-
3 दीन्प्रतिवासिकुटुम्बिनो बोधयति (।*)
4 एष ग्रामो राहुदेवेन स्वपुण्याभिवृद्ध-
5 ये ब्राह्मण-वाजसनेय[17]-आत्रेयसगोत्र-

Second Plate: First Side

6 स्वामिप्पाय[18] ताम्रशासनेनातिसृष्टो मया-
7 पि च घ्रचाटभटप्रावेश्य इत्यनुमोदितो
8 यतो भवद्भिरस्य यथाकालं मेय-
9 हिरण्यादीनां प्रत्यायानामुपनयः
10 कर्त्तव्यः (।*) भविष्यतश्च भोगपतीनभिनन्दयति[19]

Second Plate: Second Side

11 पूर्व्वदत्तेरनुपालनाच्छ्रेयसा सम्बन्धः आ-
12 च्छेदाच्च प्रत्यपाय[20] इत्यनुप्रपश्यद्भिर्भवद्भि-
13 रस्य ग्रामस्यानुपालनं कर्त्तव्यम् (॥*)
14 व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति ।
पूर्व्व-
15 दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर (।*)

15 To rectify the metre, one may suggest the emendation ०क्षितेः
16 The word *siddham* expressed by a symbol.
17 Read ०मनेयात्रेय० 18 Sanskrit स्वाम्यात्मने
19 Cf. मानोन्नतेनाप्यभिनन्द्य (var lect. ०वन्द्य) मूर्द्धा, *Raghu*, XVI, 81.
20 Better read प्रत्यवाय०

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Third Plate: First Side

16. महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् (॥*)1
17. षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः (।*)
18. आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसे(त्*) (॥*)2
19. प्रवर्द्धमानतितीयवषस्य[21] मार्ग्ग शि-
20. रमासदिवसे दशमे (।*) उत्कीर्ण्णा[22] श्रीदत्तेनेति (॥*)

Translation

Seal. The charter belongs to the illustrious king Narendra who has conquered the earth by the sharp edge of his sword, who is born of Śarabha and who is the chastiser of his enemies.

Ll. 1-14.

Let there be success. Let there be happiness. From Śarabhapura, *Mahārāja* Narendra thus informs the agriculturist inhabitants including Brāhmaṇas residing at Śarkarāpadraka in the Nandapura *bhoga:* "This village has been granted, in accordance with the custom regarding copper-plate grants, by Rāhudeva, for the increase of his own merit, in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Svāmippa (=Svāmyātman) of the Vājasaneya (*caraṇa*) and the Ātreya *gotra*. I have also confirmed (the grant by making it) 'not to be entered by the regular and irregular troops'. Therefore you should make offers of the taxes including the share of the produce and the cash money paid in lieu of the produce (to the Brāhmaṇa) in proper time". (The king) further causes (Rāhudeva) to greet respectfully the *bhogapatis* of the future (with the request): "You too should protect the (gift of) the village in view of the fact that one gets prosperity by protecting a gift made previously (by another person), whereas one commits sin by confiscating it." In this connection, (people) quote two verses sung by Vyāsa:

[Two imprecatory verses left untranslated.]

Ll. 19-20.

In the prospering third (regnal) year, on the tenth day of the month of Mārgaśira (is the charter issued). (It) is engraved by Śrīdatta.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR
L. P. PĀṆDEYA ŚARMĀ

21 Read तृतीय 22 Read उत्कीर्णं [पट्टिका] or उत्कीर्णं [शासनं]

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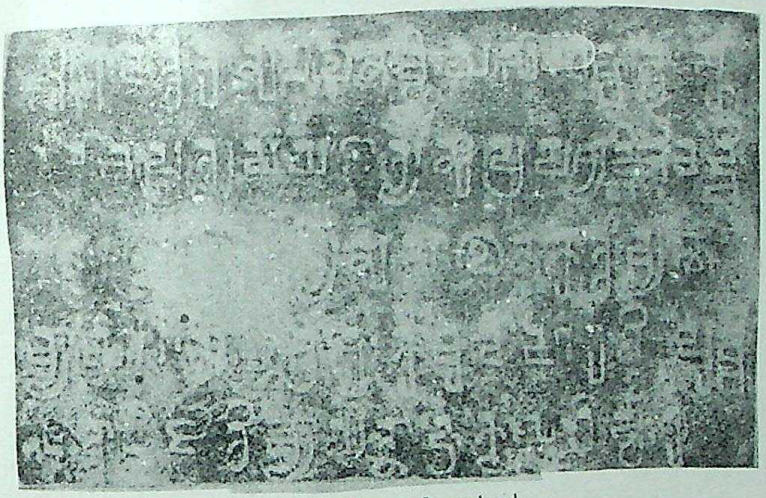
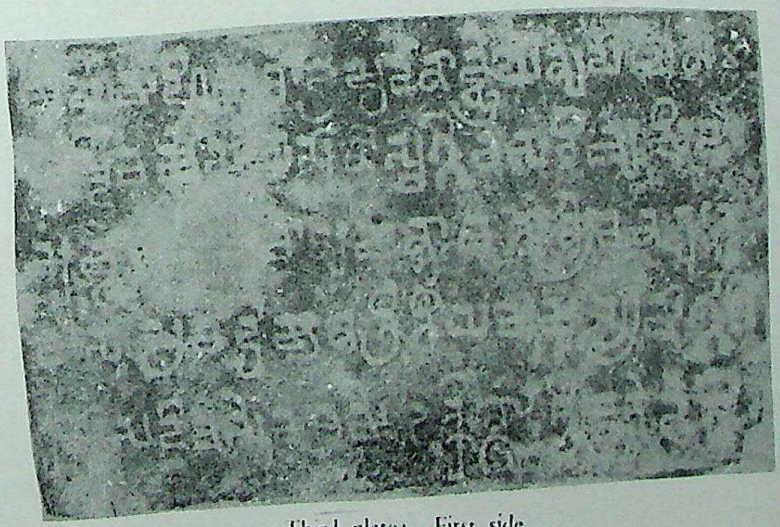
Pipardulā Copper-plate Inscription of King Narendra



Second plate: Second side



Third plate: First side

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Metrical and Grammatical Lapses due to the Imposition of Rules of modern Grammar and Prosody on Ṛks

I (1) वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय (11) syllables
नवानि गृह्णाति नरोऽपराणि (11)।
तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णा- (11)
न्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही (11)
(भगवद्गीता २।२२)॥

(2) अहमेव मतो महीपते- (10)
रिति सर्वैः प्रकृतिष्वचिन्तयत् (11)।
उदधेरिव निम्नगाशते- (10)
ष्वभवन्नास्य विमानना क्वचित् (11)
(रघुवंश ८।८)॥

(3) पद्मावती नरपतेर्महिषी भवित्री (14)
दृष्टा विपत्तिरथ यैः प्रथमं प्रदिष्टा (14)।
तत्प्रत्ययात् कृतमिदं न हि सिद्धवाक्या- (14)
न्युत्क्रम्य गच्छति विधिः सुपरीक्षितानि (14)
(स्वप्नवासवदत्ता १।११)॥

In these three modern stanzas each half is a unit made up of two verses.

If जीर्णानि be separated from अन्यानि in the second half of stanza 1, तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णानि would contain 12 instead of 11 syllables; जीर्णानि and अन्यानि therefore must be joined into जीर्णान्यन्यानि. This is also true of the second halves of stanzas 2 and 3; शतेषु cannot be separated from अभवत् and वाक्यानि from उत्क्रम्य. These combinations are necessitated by metrical requirements. But this rule of each half forming a unit cannot be enforced in Ṛks without violating metre.

(1) ऋक्संहिता :—वायवा याहि दर्शतेमे सोमा अरंकृताः। तेषां पाहि श्रुधी हवम् (१।२।१)

दर्शतेमे violates metre; वायवा याहि दर्शत। इमे सोमा अरंकृताः is syllabically and rhythmically faultless.

In the following quotations the injury done to Ṛks by joining two verses is clearly seen.

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(2) ऋ० सं० :—त्रिर्यातुधानः प्रसितिं त एत्वृतं यो अग्ने अनृतेन हन्ति (१०।८७।११)
त्रिर्यातुधानः प्रसितिं त एतु । ऋतं etc.

(3) ऋ० सं० :—तमर्यमाभि रक्षत्यृजूयन्तमनु व्रतम् (१।१३६।५) तमर्यमाभि रक्षति । ऋजूयन्तम् अनुव्रतम्

(4) ऋ० सं० :—आसस्राणासः शवसानमच्छेन्द्रं सुचक्रे रथ्यासो अश्वाः (६।३७।३)
आसस्राणासः शवसानमच्छा । इन्द्रं etc.

(5) ऋ० सं० :—एता धियं कृणवामा सखायोऽप या मातॉ ऋणुत व्रजं गोः (५।४५।६)
एता धियं कृणवामा सखायः । अप etc.

(6) ऋ० सं० :—षड्भारॉ एको अचरन्बिभर्त्यृतं वर्षिष्ठमुप गाव आगुः (३।५६।२)
षड्भारान् एको अचरन् बिभर्ति । ऋतं वर्षिष्ठम् उप गाव आगुः

(7) ऋ० सं० :—प्र श्यावाश्व धृष्णुयार्चा मरुद्भिर्ऋक्वभिः (५।५२।१)
प्र श्याव—अश्व धृष्णुया । अर्चा etc.

(8) ऋ० सं० :—महि प्सरः सुकृतं सोम्यं मधूर्वीं गव्यूतिरदितेर्ऋतं यते (६।७४।३)
महि प्सरः सुकृतं सोम्यं मधु । उर्वी गव्यूतिर् अदितेः etc.

(9) ऋ० सं० :—यो म इति प्रवोचत्यश्वमेधाय सूरये (५।२७।४)
यो मे इति प्रवोचति । अश्व etc.

(10) ऋ० सं० :—त्वमिन्द्र यशा अस्यृजीषी शवसस्पते (८।६०।५)
त्वमिन्द्र यशा असि । ऋजीषी etc.

(11) ऋ० सं० :—अतश्चिदस्य महिमा वि रेच्यभि यो विश्वा भुवना बभूव (८।१६।५)
अतश्चिदस्य महिमा वि रेचि । अभि etc.

(12) ऋ० सं० :—ऋतं चिकित्व ऋतमिच्चिकिद्धृतस्य धारा अनु तृन्धि पूर्वीः (५।१२।२)
ऋतं चिकित्वः ऋतमित् चिकिद्धि । ऋतस्य etc.

In 3 ऋजूयन्तं ought to be separated from अनुव्रतं, in 6 वर्षिष्ठ from उप and in 8 गव्यूतिर् from अदिते for the purpose of making the final अ and इ count as long syllables. मे in 9 and चिकित्वः in 12 ought to be retained instead of being altered to म and चिकित्व. In 7 श्यावाश्व is to be pronounced as श्याव-अश्व for syllabic reasons.

II There seems to have been a rule in the days when the ऋक्संहिता was compiled that अ and आ should not be combined with the following ऋ and that आ should be altered to अ. But the enforcement of such a rule in Rks spoils them syllabically and rhythmically.

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(1) ऋ० सं० :—ते हि द्यावापृथिवी विश्वशंभुव ऋतावरी रजसो धारयत्कवी (१।१६०।१)

विश्वशंभुवा । ऋता

(2) ऋ० सं० :—द्यौश्च नः पृथिवी च प्रचेतस ऋतावरी रक्षतामंहसो रिषः (१०।३६।२)

प्रचेतसा । ऋता

(3) ऋ० सं० :—प्र सा क्षितिरसुर या महि प्रिय ऋतावानाऋतमा घोषथो बृहत (१।१५१।४)

प्र सा क्षितिर् असुर या महि प्रिया । ऋता etc.

(4) ऋ० सं० :—दैव्या होतारा प्रथमा विदुष्टर ऋजु यक्षतः समृचा वपुष्टरा (२।३।७)

विदुष्टरा । ऋजु

(5) ऋ० सं० :—दुधेर्युक्तस्य द्रवतः सहानस ऋच्छन्ति ष्मा निष्पदो मुद्गलानीम् (१०।१०२।६)

सहानसा । ऋच्छन्ति

(6) ऋ० सं० :—यज्ञं विमाय कवयो मनीष ऋक्सामाभ्यां प्र रथं वर्तयन्ति । (१०।११४।६)

मनीषा । ऋक्

(7) ऋ० सं० :—सिषक्तु माता मही रसा नः स्मत्सूरिभिर्ऋजुहस्त ऋजुवनिः (५।४१।१५) नः । स्मत्सूरिभिर्ऋजुहस्ता ऋजूवनिः

(8) ऋ० सं० :—कुविन्म ऋषिं पपिवांसं सुतस्य (३।४३।५)

कुविन्मा ऋषिं

The shortening of आ in विश्वशंभुवा, प्रचेतसा, प्रिया, विदुष्टरा, सहानसा, मनीषा, ऋजुहस्ता and मा to अ has spoiled the rhythm of the Ṛks.

III In the following Ṛks अ ought to be combined with the following ऋ for syllabic reasons.

(1) ऋ० सं० :—इन्द्र सोमं पिब ऋतुना त्वा विशन्त्विन्दवः (१।१५।१)

इन्द्र सोमं पिबर्तुना । त्वा विशन्तु इन्दवः

(2) ऋ० सं० :—मरुतः पिबत ऋतुना पोत्राद्यज्ञं पुनीतन (१।१५।२)

मरुतः पिबतर्तुना । पोत्रात् यज्ञं etc.

(3) ऋ० सं० :—आवो नेष्टः पिब ऋतुना (१।१५।३)

पिबर्तुना

(4) ऋ० सं० :—विद्युर्मे अस्य देवा इन्द्रो विद्यात्सह ऋषिभिः (१।२३।२४)

देवाः । इन्द्रो विद्यात् सहर्षिभिः

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(5) ऋ० सं० :—ऋतेन ऋतं नियतमीळ आ गोरामा सचा मधुमत्पक्वमग्रे (४।३।६)
ऋतेनतं नियतमीळ आ गोः । आ मा etc.

(6) ऋ० सं० :—अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन्त्सप्त ऋषयो दौर्गहे वध्यमाने (४।४२।८)
आसन् । सप्तर्षयो

(7) ऋ० सं० :—वरुणाय ऋतपेशसे दधीत प्रयसे महे (५।६६।१)
वरुणायर्तपेशसे । दधी etc.

(8) ऋ० सं० :—भूरिभिः समह ऋषिभिर्वर्हिष्मद्भिः स्तविष्यसे (८।७०।१४)
समहर्षिभिः । वर्हि

(9) ऋ० सं० :—पारावतं यत्पुरुसंभृतं वस्वपावृणोः शरभाय ऋषिबन्धवे (८।१००।६)
वसु । अपावृणोः शरभायर्षिबन्धवे

(10) ऋ० सं० :—तमेव ऋषिं तमु ब्रह्माणमाहुर्यज्ञन्यं सामगामुक्थशासम् (१०।१०८।६)
तमेवर्षिं तमु ब्रह्माणमाहुः । यज्ञ etc.

IV Wrong Combinations

(1) ऋ० सं० :—यद्दीदयच्छवस ऋतप्रजात तदस्मासु द्रविणं धेहि चित्तम् (२।२३।१५)
यद्दीदयत् शवसर्तप्रजात । तद etc.

(2) ऋ० सं० :—मा तन्तुश्छेदि वयतो धियं मे मा मात्रा शार्यपसः पुर ऋतोः (२।२८।५)
मे । मा मात्रा शारि अपसः पुरर्तोः

(3) ऋ० सं० :—पर ऋणा सावीरध मत्कृतानि माहं राजन्नन्यकृतेन भोजम् (२।२८।६)
परर्णा सावीरध मत्कृतानि । माहं etc.

(4) ऋ० सं० :—नास्या वशि, विमुचं नाव्रतं पुनर्विद्वान्पथः पुरएत ऋजु नेषति (५।४६।१)
पुनः । विद्वान् पथः पुरएतर्जुनेषति

(5) ऋ० सं०—यच्चिद्धि वां पुर ऋषयो जुहूरेऽवसे नरा (८।८।६)
यच्चिद्धि वां पुरर्षयः । जुहूरे अवसे नरा

(6) ऋ० सं :—यथा कलां यथा शफं यथ ऋणं संनयामसि (८।४७।१७)
शफम् । यथर्णं

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In these Ṛks the आ in शवसा, पुरा, एता and यथा has been shortened to अ in the संहिता according to the rule laid down in paragraph 2; but the आ must be combined with the following ऋ for syllabic and rhythmical reasons.

V The following Ṛks have been spoiled both syllabically and rhythmically by combinations.

(1) ऋ० सं० :—रथो न वित्तऋजसान आयुषु व्यानुषग्वार्या देव ऋण्वति (१।५८।३)

रथो न वित्तु ऋजसान आयुषु । वि आनुषक् etc.

(2) ऋ० सं० : —त्वे इन्द्राप्यभूम विप्रा धियं वनेम ऋतया सपन्तः (२।११।१२)

त्वे इन्द्र अपि अभूम विप्राः । धियं etc.

(3) ऋ० सं० : —त्वं चित्रः शम्या अग्ने अस्या ऋतस्य बोध्यृतचित्खाधीः (४।३।४)

अस्याः । ऋतस्य बोधि ऋतचित् सुआधीः

(4) ऋ० सं० :—मीळ्हुष्मतीव पृथिवी पराहता मदन्त्येत्यस्मदा (५।५६।३)

हता । मदन्ती एति

(5) ऋ० सं० :—एमेनं प्रत्येतन सोमेभिः सोमपातमम् (६।४२।२)

प्रति एतन । सोमे

(6) ऋ० सं० :—त्वमिन्द्र स्वयशा ऋभुक्षा वाजो न साधुरस्तमेष्यूक्षा (७।३८।४)

ऋभुक्षाः । वाजो न साधुरस्तमेषि ऋक्षा

(7) ऋ० सं० :—प्र कृतान्यृजीषिणः करवा इन्द्रस्य गाथया (८।३२।१)

प्रकृतानि ऋजीषिणः । करवा

(8) ऋ० सं० :—द्विता व्यूरर्वन्नमृतस्य धाम (९।९४।२)

द्विता वि ऊरर्वन् अमृ etc.

(9) ऋ० सं० :—इह श्रुत इन्द्रो अस्मे अद्य स्तवे वज्र्यृचीषमः मित्रो न यो जनेष्वा यशश्चक्रे असाम्या (१०।२२।२)

इह श्रुत इन्द्रो अस्मे अद्य । स्तवे वज्रो ऋचीषमः । मित्रो न यो जनेषु आ । यशश्चक्रे असामि आ

Combinations have not only spoiled the following Ṛks syllabically and rhythmically but have also made them hard for recitation.

(1) ऋ० सं०—ऐषु चेतद्वृषण्वत्यन्तर्ऋज्रेष्वरुषी (८।६८।१८)

ऐषु चेतत् वृषण्वती । अन्तर् ऋज्रेषु आरुषी. अरुषी was certainly आरुषी ; आरुषी=आ । अरुषी

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(2) ऋ० सं०—धीरो ह्यस्यद्मसद्विप्रो न जागृविः सदा (८।४४।२६)

धीरो हि असि अद्मसद् । विप्रो etc.

VI In the following Ṛks rhythm requires the retention of विसर्ग after the words given in thick type.

(1) ऋ० सं० - सुगः पन्था **अनृक्षरः आदित्यास** ऋतं यते (१।४१।४)

अनृक्षरः । आदित्यासः

(2) ऋ० सं०—आरे सा वः सुदानवो मरुत ऋञ्जती शरुः (१।१७२।२)

सुदानवः । मरुतः

(3) ऋ० सं०—यो राजभ्य ऋतनिभ्यो ददाश (२।२७।१२)

राजभ्यः

(4) ऋ० सं०—विद्युद्रथा **मरुत** ऋष्टिमन्तो (३।५४।१३)

मरुतः

(5) ऋ० सं०—नीचीरमुष्मै **यम्य** ऋतावृधः (५।४४।४)

यम्यः

(6) ऋ० सं०—अयं स सूनुः **सहस** ऋतावा (६।१२।१)

सहसः

(7) ऋ० सं०—क्षयत्स **राय** ऋतपा ऋतेजाः (७।२०।६)

रायः

(8) ऋ० सं०—**ऋतावान** ऋतजाता ऋतावृधो (५।६६।१३)

ऋतावानः

(9) ऋ० सं०—वयो दधाना **उशिज** ऋतज्ञाः (१०।१०४।४)

उशिजः

Or instead of retaining the विसर्ग the preceding अ and the विसर्ग should be combined into ओ for which कदा चिक्ित्वो अभि चक्षसे नः (५।३।६) would be a sufficient authority.

So आदित्यासः, मरुतः, राजभ्यः, यम्यः, सहसः, रायः, ऋतावानः and उशिजः should be written as आदित्यासो, मरुतो, राजभ्यो, यम्यो, सहसो, रायो, ऋतावानो and उशिजो.

VII The faults shown in the preceding paragraphs were due to the interference of modern Sk. grammar and prosody with Ṛks. संधि rules were not obligatory in Ṛv; the observance of those rules depended on the exigencies of metre.

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The composers of Rks. were scrupulously careful about syllables and rhythm for which purpose they sometimes violated rules of grammar.

In उपधीव and प्रधीव (२।३६।४) we find उपधी and प्रधी which are duals combined with the following इव. Sometimes a letter is omitted for the same purpose; तुभ्यं is altered to तुभ्य in 10 Rks; तुभ्येदेते बहुला अद्रिदुग्धाः (१।५४।६) and तुभ्येदेते मरुतः सुशेवाः (५।३०।६); तुभ्यम्+इत्+एते=तुभ्यमिदेते; by the retention of मकार and its combination with इत् the lines would have an additional syllable which would spoil the metre. The omission of म् therefore was absolutely necessary. In यजध्वैनं प्रियमेधाः (८।२।३७) the म् in यजध्वम् has been omitted for the same reason.

VIII The संहिता form of Rks conceals corruptions which had crept into them during centuries long before the संहिता compilation.

(1) एवाग्निर्मर्तैः सह सूरिभिर्वसु श्रवे सहसः सूनरो नृभिः। मित्रासो न ये सुधिता ऋतायवो द्यावो न द्युम्नैरभि सन्ति मानुषान् (१०।११५।७)

The first half contains 22 syllables while the second contains 24.

एवाग्निर्मर्तैः सह सूरिभिर्वसुः। स्रवे (सूनुः) सहसः सूनरो नृभिः। मित्रासो न ये सुधिता ऋतायवः। द्यावो न द्युम्नैरभि सन्ति मानुषान्; the splitting of the first half into 2 lines reveals the fact that 2 syllables are wanting; सहसः is found in company with पुत्र, यहु and सूनु; in the present Rk the missing word must have been सूनुः and not पुत्रः because सूनुः would suit the alliteration of स् in सह, सूरिभिः, वसुः, स्रवे, सहसः and सूनरः and also that of न् in सूनरः and नृभिः.

सायण :—सहसः बलस्य सूनरः सुष्ठु प्रेरकः। यद्वा। सूनुः इति अस्य वर्णव्यत्ययः। सूनरः सूनुः; सूनरः here is rendered by सुष्ठुप्रेरकः or is treated as a substitute for सूनुः

(2) वतो बतासि यम नैव ते मनो हृदयं चाविदाम। अन्या किल त्वां कक्ष्येव युक्तं परिष्वजाते लिबुजेव वृक्षम् (१०।१०।१३)

वतो बतासि यम नैव ते मनो। हृदयं चाविदाम। अन्या किल त्वां कक्ष्येव युक्तं। परिष्वजाते लिबुजेव वृक्षम्;

The first line contains 12 syllables, the second 7, the third 10 and the last 11; if we read कक्षयेव for कक्ष्येव, line 3 also would have 11 syllables;

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in the second line 4 or 5 syllables are wanting; but it is impossible to guess what those syllables were.

(3) इन्द्रो अस्माँ अरदद्वज्रबाहुरपाहन्वृत्रं परिधिं नदीनाम । देवोऽनयत्सविता सुपाणिस्तस्य वयं प्रसवे याम उर्वीः (३।३३।६) ;

इन्द्रो अस्मान् अरदद्वज्रबाहुः । अपहन् वृत्रं परिधिं नदीनाम । देवोऽनयत् (नः) सविता सुपाणिः । तस्य वयं प्रसवे याम उर्वीः.

Line three contains 10 as against 11 syllables in each one of the other 3 lines; the one syllable wanting in line three is evidently नः which is the object of अनयत्.

(4) अस्मे वीरो मरुतः शुष्म्यस्तु जनानां यो असुरो विधर्ता । अपो येन सुक्षितये तरेमाध स्वमोको अभि वः स्याम (७।५६।२४)

अस्मे वीरो मरुतः शुष्मी अस्तु । जनानां यो असुरो विधर्ता । अपो येन सुक्षितये तरेम । अध स्वमोको अभि वः स्याम ;

Line 2 contains 10 as against 11 syllables in each one of the other 3 lines as स्याम in line 4 is to be read as स्यआम ; यो in line 2 may have been originally मर्यो ; जनानां मर्यो असुरो विधर्ता is syllabically and rhythmically faultless.

(5) उत्त्वा मन्दन्तु स्तोमाः कृणुष्व राधो अद्रिवः । अव ब्रह्मद्विषो जहि (८।६४।१) ;

Line 1 contains 7 as against 8 in lines 2 and 3; स्तोमाः spoils line 1 both syllabically and rhythmically; words like मे गिरः are wanted in place of स्तोमाः ;उत्त्वा मन्दन्तु मे गिरः is faultless.

(6) दिवो न तुभ्यमन्विन्द्र सत्रासुर्यं देवेभिर्धायि विश्वम् । अहिं यद्वज्रमपो वव्रिवांसं हन्नृजीषिन्विष्णुना सचानः (६।२०।२) ;

दिवो न तुभ्यम् अनु इन्द्र सत्रा । असुर्यं देवेभिर्धायि विश्वम् । अहिं यद्वज्रम् अपो वव्रिवांसं । हन् ऋजीषिन् विष्णुना सचानः ;

Lines 1 and 3 contain 11 syllables each while 2 and 4 contain 10 only; line 2 moreover is unrhythmical on account of देवेभिः ; was it something like असुर्यं देव अभि धायि विश्वम् ? हन् in line 4 must have been अहन् originally.

These 6 Ṛks are sufficient to prove that *Ṛv.* is not free from corruptions. Numbers of corrupt Ṛks can be quoted to prove this statement.

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IX A peculiarity of the scansion of Ṛks. To make up the number of necessary syllables a conjunct consonant is sometimes to be split into two syllables for which there is authority in *Ṛv* itself.

(1) स वाजी रोचना दिवः (८)। पवमानो वि धावति (८)। रज्ञोहा वार-मव्ययम् (८) (९।३७।३) ;

(2) सो अर्षेन्द्राय पीतये (८)। तिरो रोमाणि अव्यया (८) (९।६२।८) ;

(3) तमुत्तमाणमव्यये (८)। वारे पुनन्ति धर्णसिम् (८) (९।८८।५).

Here we find अव्ययं, अव्यया and अव्यये substituted for अव्यं, अव्या and अव्ये for syllabic reasons. But in the following Ṛks we find no such substitution as there is the necessary number of syllables;

(1) इन्दो वि अव्यमर्षसि (८)। वि श्रवांसि वि सौभगा (८) (९।६७।५) ;

(2) रोमाणि अव्या समया वि धावति (१२)।
मधोर्धारा पिन्वमाना दिवेदिवे (१२) (९।७५।४) ;

(3) अव्ये वधूयुः पवते परित्वचि (१२)।
श्रथ्नीते नप्तीरदितेर्ऋतं यते (१२) (९।६९।३)

(1) अधा यो विश्वा भुवनाभि मज्मना। (१२)
ईशानकृत् प्रवया अभ्यवर्धत (१२)
आद्द्यावापृथिवी ज्योतिषा बहिरातनोत् (१२)।
सीव्यन् तमांसि दुधिता समव्ययद् (१२) (९।१७।४) ;

here समव्ययत् is substituted for समव्यत् for making up the necessary number of syllables. But in the following Ṛk this substitution is not necessary;

पुनः समव्यत् विततं वयन्ती (११)।
मध्या कर्तोः नि अध्यात् शक्म धीरः (१०) (९।३८।४).

This splitting up of conjunct consonants is necessary in some Ṛks quoted in the preceding sections.

V. K. Rajwade

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The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir*

Master of a keen sense of pathos, Kalhaṇa yet possessed the gift of humour in a remarkable degree. We have already referred to his humorous portraits of individual upstarts, knaves and impostors. Mention has also been made of his numerous hits at Brahman assemblies and temple *purohitas* indulging in the farce of solemn fasts which were ended by bribery. The author draws a remarkably humorous picture (V, 462-463) of the deliberations of the Brahman assembly that elected Yaśaskara to the throne after the extinction of the Utpala dynasty. The wiseacres, 'dressed in coarse woollen cloaks' and 'resembling bulls without horns', with beards scorched by smoke, long disputed with each other for the proper choice of a king. While they failed to reach a decision, 'nobody received the water of inauguration, only their own beards were wetted by the spittings ejected in their rough talk.' At last, forced by the solemn fast of a whole host of *purohitas* of sacred places who assembled at the capital, they made their choice in favour of Yaśaskara. Elsewhere (VII, 1574-6) while describing the horrors of Harṣa's defeat by Uccala's forces at the capital city, Kalhaṇa relieves the appalling gloom of the picture by a few humorous strokes. Among the boorish plunderers of the royal palace, one put camphor into his mouth mistaking it for sugar, others 'eager to get gold burned clothes painted with gold and then anxiously searched the ashes', others again ground in hand-mills a mass of pearls which they took to be rice-corns. In other passages Kalhaṇa's humour changes into bitter satire. Such is the case with his frequent references to the cowardly flight and desertion of the Kashmirian soldiery on the battle-field as well as his picture of disreputable social types like Kāyasthas and merchants, to which we have already drawn the readers' attention. We shall presently see with what biting satire the author speaks again and again of traitors and cowards. Equally scathing is the author's exposure (VI, 100) of the hypocrisy of Yaśaskara's courtiers who solemnly affirmed their decision to go into mourning after the king's death, but forgot their promise when his death was imminent. As regards the vulgar people, we have already seen how satirisingly Kalhaṇa speaks of their fickleness which makes him indulge in the sage comment (VIII, 896). 'The vulgar people,

* Continued from *I.H.Q.*, vol. XIX, p. 38.

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just like animals, do not require any reasons for their actions.' Very sarcastic also is the chronicler's account (VIII, 702 ff.) of the absurd rumours which were circulated about the greatness of the pretender Bhikṣācara at the time of his successful invasion of Kashmir. Even hoary old men with long white beards, says the author, told stories like the following:— 'He says nothing that is not refined; ten rocks he splits with an arrow, he walks a hundred *yojanas* and back without getting tired.' Everyone, even if unconnected with public affairs, the chronicler goes on, told and asked news about the pretender as if he were himself to get one-half of the kingdom'. In this connection Kalhaṇa gives, VIII, 706-10, a list of the characteristic types of sedition-mongers who 'in this land delight in the king's misfortunes'. These are the old officials out of employment, the so-called princes living in the royal palace, some soldiers 'wicked and eager to get on high horses', the schoolmasters addicted to vicious practices, the aged dancing girls in the temples, the roguish and sanctimonious merchants, the *purohita* corporations 'expert in arranging solemn fasts', and the boorish Ḍāmaras from the environs of the city.

Exact topography

We have now examined the qualities of Kalhaṇa's style which entitle him to high rank as a narrator of historical facts. Passing to other characteristics of his genius, we have to mention the wealth and accuracy of his topographical details. The mass of his topographical references which makes his work, as Stein (II, p. 366) well says 'not only the amplest but also the most authentic of our sources for the geography of Kashmir', has been conveniently arranged by the same scholar under three heads. We have first his valuable notices of the *Topographia Sacra* of which Kashmir has been so prolific from the earliest times. The Kashmirian *tīrthas*, consisting principally of sacred springs with the tutelary Nāga divinities, sacred streams and lakes as well as sacred natural formations, are described by the chronicler with such topographical fullness as to suggest reminiscences of personal visits probably on pilgrimages. The legends which the author narrates about many of the *tīrthas* in his first three Books have been of substantial help in identifying their sites. Next to Kalhaṇa's notices of *tīrthas* may be mentioned his numerous references to the foundations of 'towns, villages, estates, shrines and buildings' by kings, queens, ministers and other officials as well as private individuals. There is ample

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evidence to suggest that these references are almost entirely based on historical facts or at least on genuine local tradition. Kalhaṇa's accurate descriptions of the ancient sites (with their buildings) have been especially helpful in their identification in recent times. Thus the data supplied by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* have enabled Stein to trace the exact position and limits of Pravarapura, the capital of Pravarasena II, and to fix the site and identify the remains of Parihāsapura, the capital of Lalitāditya. The third and most important class of Kalhaṇa's topographical notices is concerned with his numerous references to marches, battles and sieges, while narrating the troubled history of the kingdom during the century immediately preceding his time. The descriptions of these military operations are given with such remarkable attention to topographical detail as to furnish the most decisive clues to their identification. Topographical indications of great importance are also given in other passages which do not relate to military transactions. Thus in connection with the great engineering operations of Sujji in Avantivarman's reign the author indicates the position of the old and new confluences of the Vitastā and the Sindhu with such accuracy as to make possible Stein's identification of the former with absolute certainty. (On the above, see Stein II, *Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, pp. 366-71).

Next to Kalhaṇa's attitude towards the geography of his native land may be mentioned his regard for chronology. For geography and chronology', as has been well said, are 'the sun and the moon, the right eye and the left eye, of all history' (Richard Haklyut quoted in V. A. Smith's *Oxford History of India*, p. i.). Leaving aside the ancient or semi-legendary times for which Kalhaṇa's chronological aberrations have been sufficiently noticed above, we may state to his credit that from the beginning of the Utpala dynasty (Book V) onwards, he gives accurate dates in years, months and dates for the beginning (or end), as well as the important events of each reign. The reckoning is invariably made according to the fashionable Laukika era which, as Bühler was the first to prove (*Kashmir Report*, pp. 59ff. quoted in Stein I, *Introd.* p. 58, *n.* 6), commenced on the first day of the bright fortnight of Caitra in the year 25 expired of the Kali era or the year 3075-76 B.C.). In one passage Kalhaṇa distinguishes quite correctly, as it has been proved (VIII, 35 *n.*), a certain year (Laukika 4177 = 1101-2 A.D.) as containing two Bhādrapada months, viz. the proper and the intercalated months of that name. Again, in dealing with what may be called recent

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history, Kalhaṇa may be proved, by the incontestable evidence of dates to have stated his events in their proper chronological succession. Thus to take a few examples, we have for the important year 4196 Laukika (i.e. 1121-22 A.D.) which marked the close of Sussala's first reign, no less than eight successive dates. These are, firstly commencement of the year (i.e. Caitra)—Great Rising of the Ḍāmaras (VIII, 661); secondly, Vaiśākha—Sussala's march against Malakoṣṭha (VIII, 667), thirdly, Jyaiṣṭha—Defeat and death of the rebel general Vijaya (VIII, 714), fourthly, Āṣāḍha—Defeat of the king's forces by Pṛthvīhara (VIII, 74), fifthly, 3rd Āṣāḍha, *Sudi*—Sussala's family sent to Lohara (VIII, 717), sixthly Śrāvaṇa—The pretender Bhikṣācara at Maḍavarājya (VIII, 723), seventhly, 14th Āśvina,, *Sudi*—Sussala's misery because of the uproar in the whole kingdom (VIII, 786); eighthly, 6th Mārgaśīrṣa *Vadi*—Sussala's departure from the capital (VIII, 819). Again for the Laukika year 4198 (i.e. 1122-23 A.D.) we have a series of six dates as follows: firstly, Caitra—Ḍāmaras attack the city (VIII, 1053); secondly, Vaiśākha—Sussala suddenly attacked and defeated the Ḍāmara Pṛthvīhara (VIII, 1057); thirdly, 6th Jyaiṣṭha, *Vadi*—Sussala's disaster on the Gambhīrā bridge (VIII, 1064), fourthly, 8th Āṣāḍha *Vadi*,—Sussala's victory at Gopādri hill (VIII, 1111), fifthly, Pauṣa—Ṭikka's march against Chuḍḍā, wife of Garga (VIII, 1136), and sixthly, Māgha—Sussala's return to the city after desertion of his general Yaśorāja (VIII, 1147). On the day of Sussala's murder and the immediately following day the course of events is given as follows: firstly, New Moon day 4203 Laukika (= 1128-29 A.D.) at mid-day—Sussala's murder (VIII, 1348), secondly, at night, Jayasiṃha's consultation with his ministers (VIII, 1369 ff.) thirdly, next morning—Jayasiṃha's search for troops; heavy snowfall (VIII, 375-76), fourthly, same morning—Sujji commenced his march for the capital (VIII, 1407), fifthly, at mid-day—Bhikṣācara stopped in the vicinity of the city (VIII, 1383), sixthly, close of the day—Sujji reached the capital after his dangerous march (VIII, 1402). For the preceding period, it is true, Kalhaṇa fails to give us the dates of all the principal events, but we may safely presume that they are at least narrated in their proper chronological succession.

Along with Kalhaṇa's exact topography and presumed regard for chronological succession, we may mention the completeness of his genealogical statements. In introducing new actors on the historical stage, the chronicler usually gives us welcome details of their ancestry. To take a few examples he mentions the ancestors of Yaśaskara for four generations

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(V, 469) and those of the general Jindurāja for five generations (VII, 263-65), while the descent of Uccala is traced from his fabled ancestor Nara, a king of Dārvābhisāra and a descendant of Bharadvāja through the historical Siṃharāja, Kāntirāja, Jassarāja and Malla (VII, 1282-87).

Appreciation of loyalty

It is probably due as much to Kalhaṇa's innate nobility of character as to his bitter experience of the atrocious series of treacheries that stained the history of Kashmir within living memory that the chronicler uniformly bestows his highest praise upon servants bravely sacrificing their lives for the king's cause. How well he can appreciate such heroic sacrifice even on the part of foreigners desecrating one of his country's revered shrines to avenge the wrong done to their murdered lord and king is proved by his comment (IV, 322-335) on the episode of the Gauḍas (the people of Bengal) in the time of Lalitāditya. When the Gauḍa king was treacherously killed by Lalitāditya, his servants visiting Kashmir under the pretext of pilgrimage, boldly attacked the temple of the God who had been made a surety for their master's safety. They destroyed a famous silver image of Viṣṇu, while being massacred to a man by the Kashmirian soldiery. Praising 'the Gauḍa heroes' with whose fame the whole world was filled down to his own days, the author pays his tribute to those good old times so unlike his own. 'At that time kings everywhere possessed such jewels of servants who had the power of superhuman devotion to their lord.' Coming to the history of his own land Kalhaṇa refers (V, 131 ff.) in terms of the highest praise to the followers of a Prince who unsuccessfully contended with king Saṅkaravarmaṇ for the throne at the beginning of the latter's reign. Disdaining the enemy's offer of wealth and honours and thinking only of their own high honour, these valiant men were killed fighting in the cause of their master. With his usual sense of contrast between past glory and present degradation the author writes 'Servants were then still free from delusion and not having yet learned to imitate the conduct of dogs, proudly disdained to fight for morsels.' It is doubtless in consequence of the conspicuous rarity of such instances in later times—to which his sad comments bear witness—that Kalhaṇa takes particular care to record in his last two Books the names and deeds of those who proved their loyal devotion to the king amid the general baseness and treachery. Examples of such heroes extolled by the chronicler are the general Candrarāja and the governor

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Ānanda abovementioned who were killed fighting for their lord and king Harṣa during his last wars with the brothers Uccala and Sussala. On the other hand the chronicler visits with severe (and as it seems to us unmerited) scorn (VIII, 1410 ff.) Harṣa's faint-hearted ministers, 'those beasts of men,' who failed to exert themselves for the king during the catastrophic close of his reign. Kalhaṇa takes this opportunity to express his view of the duty of servants towards their masters. The servants, he says, deserve shame, who display weakness 'when success can be achieved by the mere sacrifice of that body which is bound to decay'. No one is meaner than he who, 'though a man, forgets that attachment to the master, the recollection of which makes women enter the pyre.' Those who look upon the master's afflictions with indifference 'make this earth unholy, though it is hallowed by sacred places.' If a man has seen his lord overcome by the enemy, his son dying of hunger and so forth, 'then hell has for him no greater torment in store.'

To pass to other instances of devoted loyalty to the king, Kalhaṇa, in describing the tragedy of Uccala's murder, is careful to record (VIII, 323-26) the name of a brave Rājaputra, a humble lamp-bearer and a faithful Kāyastha, who vainly sacrificed their lives in attempting to defend their master. On the other hand he speaks with the utmost contempt of a high-born official who 'ran away like a dog hiding his dagger just as if it were his tail'. Speaking of a commander-in-chief who was driven to treason by king Sussala's ingratitude, Kalhaṇa says (VIII, 690 ff.) that he would have remained unblamable if he had merely turned indifferent, but he made his name unfit for mention by his treacherous designs. In this connection Kalhaṇa gives us his own view of the heinousness of treason, as he characterises traitors as 'the greatest sinners' and again as 'worse sinners than parricides.' In a later passage (VIII, 1325-27) describing the tragedy of king Sussala's murder, Kalhaṇa conspicuously mentions one Rājaputra chieftain (who was killed fighting for his lord) as washing off the shame with his blood, while disgrace stained the whole Rājaputra tribe. In the same context he singles out for honourable mention two brave Brahmans and a loyal chieftain who alone fell bravely fighting in trying to avenge their master.

With Kalhaṇa's characteristic horror of treason it is no wonder that he should carefully record the evil precedents created by the murder of kings. Referring to the slaying of the usurper who had been defeated and taken prisoner by Cakravarman. Kalhaṇa says (V, 350): 'From that time onwards servants in disregard of the sacred law began treacherously to

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murder kings who ought to be esteemed like fathers'. Again, while referring to the mutilation of king Harṣa's body by the conspirators, he observes (VII, 1721-24) that 'the new fashion of cutting off the king's head' perpetrated by impious people foreboded lasting calamities as from a curse for the country.

The sentiment of personal loyalty is so strong in Kalhaṭa that he praises it even in those who sacrificed their lives in the vain attempt to avenge their master's wrong on the king. To take a few instances, Kalhaṇa in describing the tragedy of Tuṅga's murder, singles out for praise an attendant of the minister who, though unarmed, attempted to protect him with his body (VII, 82). He also takes care to record the names of those of Tuṅga's followers who 'brilliantly displayed the character of true servants' by trying to avenge his death (VII, 90 ff.) On the other hand he refers with the utmost scorn (VII, 87 ff.) to other followers of the unfortunate minister, who 'sat still in their fright like women' or else, dropping their swords, lost both honour and life. In connection with the treacherous murder of Sujji by order of Jayasiṃha Kalhaṇa mentions (VIII, 2154) heroic self-sacrifice of one of the murdered general's relatives as conferring merit upon his composition and he goes on to record (*Ibid.*, 2176) 'the noble deeds' of others of his followers. In the same spirit Kalhaṇa praises (VIII, 2319 ff.) a Brahman and a Ḍāmara follower of Koṣṭheśvara and his brother, who finding their masters struck down by Jayasiṃha's order, were killed fighting bravely to avenge his death. Of the brave Brahman who 'fell down quickly upon the hero's couch, a stream of blood serving for its upper covering', Kalhaṇa admiringly says 'He deserved to be counted among the heroes for having displayed a laudable prowess under the eyes of his masters who had fallen into misfortune and were yet alive and for having found a death worthy of envy.'

That Kalhaṇa was capable of the more refined sentiment of appreciation of patriotic sacrifice for the country's cause is proved by a number of examples already mentioned. Describing the great defeat of the allied Kashmirian and Śāhi forces at the hands of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, Kalhaṇa, as we have seen, records (VII, 59) the names of three Kashmirian warriors who, fighting valiantly on the terrible battle-field, 'preserved the honour of their country from being lost.' Again, while referring to the siege of Srinagar by the rebellious Ḍāmaras in the reign of Sussala, he makes the king conclude his spirited address to a brave companion with the noble

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words already quoted, 'Is there any person holding a place among self-respecting men who would abandon his country at the end without having wetted it with the blood of his body, just as the tiger does not leave his skin without having wetted it with his blood (VIII, 1192).

True to his high appreciation of loyal devotion to the master, Kalhaṇa repeatedly mentions with admiration, notwithstanding his dubious view of women's character, the noble ladies and women of lesser rank who heroically sacrificed themselves in the same cause. Already for the ancient period we have the story (II, 56-57) of Vākpuṣṭā, the saintly Queen of Tuñjīna I, who is said to have sacrificed her life as *satī* and the place of whose cremation was still called after her name down to the chronicler's own times. From this time onwards Kalhaṇa again and again singles out for honourable mention those Queens who honoured their husband's memory by a voluntary death. Even the humble attendants who performed this supreme act of devotion for their masters are mentioned with high praise. Very characteristic of him is his contrast between two dancing-girls, one of whom belonging to King Kalaśa's train 'disgraced the whole of womenkind' by yielding herself after the kings death to a village official (VII, 726-28), while the other belonging to Utkarṣa's household followed him on the funeral pyre, thus displaying a noble conduct which 'makes women who are beloved by their husbands carry their heads higher even to this day.' (VII, 850-59). Equally characteristic is Kalhaṇa's enthusiastic admiration of the noble wife of the Ḍāmara Koṣṭheśvara. Finding her husband lying wounded by the Kings' orders, she paid no heed to those who told her that she might yet get back her husband alive and committed suicide by entering the fire. The fire itself, so runs the chronicler's tribute, was purified from its sin by the feet of her who was proceeding to the world of virtuous women, (VIII, 2336).

Appreciation of bravery

It is in consonance with Kalhaṇa's lofty principles that he shows throughout his work high appreciation of heroic death on the battle-field in fighting even for one's own self. In the evil times of the usurpation of power by the Tantrins to which we have referred above, the sons of the minister Meruvardhana made themselves particularly obnoxious by their oppression of the subjects and intrigues for seizing the royal power. After sometime one of them namely Śambhuvardhana, was able to secure the throne for himself by offering the highest bribes to the Tantrins. Nevertheless Kalhaṇa

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speaks in terms of high praise of the heroism displayed by this king and his followers in their unsuccessful fight with the rightful King Cakravarman (cf. V, 336 'The valiant Saṃkaravardhana adorned the bed of heroes together with his dead followers of noble descent and good qualities'; *Ibid.* 337 'who did not envy the Tantrins who found in close union their success and in close union their end'). To take another instance, when describing the utter rout of the allied Kashmirian and Śāhi forces in the fight with Sultan Mahmud to which reference has been made above, Kalhaṇa praises the illustrious Trilocanapāla' 'whom numberless enemies even could not defeat in battle,' whose 'superhuman prowess' was remembered even by the victorious Hammīra (VII, 60ff.). Referring to Prince Bhoja, the dearly beloved son of King Harṣa, who fell bravely fighting against his foes, Kalhaṇa observes that he was true to a Kṣatriya's duties, that destroying his assailants like a lion he fell covered with blood and adorned the couch of a hero, and lastly, that he fell in combat in a manner worthy of great heroes' envy (VII, 1655-56; 1676). The heroism displayed by King Uccala before he was overpowered by his assassins somewhat atoned, says the chronicler (VIII, 331), for the want of pity which he had shown towards the people during his life-time. Of the pretender Bhikṣācara who after an eventful career was betrayed by his followers and was killed fighting bravely to the last, Kalhaṇa says that he obtained in honour the highest place in a great host of kings, that he defied his ever adverse fate even at his end by his unbroken vigour and lastly, that though he was a beggar as compared with former kings, they were as nothing compared with him for noble death (VIII, 1768-77).

If Kalhaṇa is lavish in his praise of heroes, he is not less full of contempt for cowards. We have already noticed with what scorn he speaks of the cowardly Kashmirian and the Rājaputra soldiery who basely abandoned Sussala's body to be multilated and carried off by the murderous traitors. Other instances have been given of the chronicler's severe censure of the Kashmirian troops who fled from the battlefield in cowardly panic. In other passages Kalhaṇa visits with equal scorn the remissness of faint-hearted ministers and other high officials. When Sussala towards the close of Harṣa's reign captured Vijayeśvara after defeating and killing the king's brave general, he found, says the chronicler (VII, 1504ff.), the multitude of 'Rājaputras, horsemen, Tantrins and feudatories' as well as the chiefs and officers assembled in the temple courtyard 'like frightened animals'. Mercifully promising safety to the cowardly gang who prostrated themselves at his

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feet, Sussala had their arms bound with ropes and made them over to the Ḍāmaras 'as one hands cattle to herdsmen'. The two leading officers, 'the weak Paṭṭa' and 'the treacherous Darśanapāla' forgot the little decency they had shown by desiring to go abroad. To take another instance, while describing the panicky flight of the royal troops in a night attack by rebels in Jayasiṃha's reign, Kalhaṇa disdains to mention names and he contents himself with saying (VIII, 188), 'There was not a single minister there who did not fling away courage and flee like a beast.'

Kalhaṇa's impartiality of judgment

Not the least of Kalhaṇa's merits as a historian is the impartiality of his judgment on the multitude of characters noticed in his work. This attitude in sharp contrast with the literary convention requiring unqualified eulogy of his hero on the part of the *Kavi,* does honour to the author's sterling honesty and independence of character. In truth Kalhaṇa is the only known Sanskrit poet who not only enjoyed no royal patronage but also appears to have been actually in disfavour at the royal court at the time of composition of his work. (For the arguments see Stein I, *Introd.* pp. 17ff.). One consequence of this independent position was Kalhaṇa's detached attitude towards recent and contemporary characters as well as those of the past. In the introductory verses of his work the author strikes a refreshing note when he says (I, 7) 'That noble-minded poet alone is worthy of praise whose words like that of a judge keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past.' How faithfully Kalhaṇa follows this noble ideal throughout his work can be illustrated from a number of examples given above. We have seen (above, pp. 305, 311) how he faithfully, though reluctantly, records the pious foundations of evil kings and their ministers, while on the other hand he makes no secret of the weaknesses of admittedly able and good rulers. It is especially in his treatment of recent and contemporary characters (above, pp. 327ff.) that his impartial attitude is, clearly manifested. Thus although Kalhaṇa could not but have been grateful to Harṣa for the favour shown to his family, he apportions praise and blame with equal impartiality to the king's character. Uccala, Harṣa's successful rival, is praised as we have seen for his energy and resolution, his solicitude for his people's welfare and piety, but his harshness of speech and other defects meet with just and severe censure. Sussala, while getting full credit for his good qualities, is strongly condemned for his cruel exactions and his sense-

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less persecutions of Ḍāmaras and officials. In his account of the contemporary king Jayasiṃha Kalhaṇa finds it necessary to give him a certain amount of conventional praise which, however, does not ignore the mixture of good and bad qualities in his character. In his subsequent narrative, while giving specific instances of the king's resolution and cunning diplomacy as well as piety, Kalhaṇa quotes other instances pointing to his weakness for evil counsels, his want of judgment, his lack of comprehension and so forth. In the same context Kalhaṇa gives us with equal impartiality the lights and shades of the character of Bhikṣācara, the most dangerous adversary of the reigning king as well as of his father and uncle. The pretender's failure as king, Kalhaṇa shows us, was brilliantly redeemed by his subsequent exhibition of extraordinary ability and skill in fighting and finally by his 'noble death' in his last fight with his enemies. (A striking instance of the impartiality and independence of Kalhaṇa's judgments is furnished by the contrast between his characterisations and the conventional praises of a number of Kashmirian kings, queens and princes—Ananta, Subhaṭā, Kṣitipati, Kalaśa, Utkarṣa, Harṣa and Vijayamalla—in Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkacarita*, XVIII, 33ff.).

Kalhaṇa as a critical historian

Gifted with great narrative powers and capable of just and impartial judgment, Kalhaṇa attains but slight success as a critical historian. At the beginning of his work, as we have seen, he explains clearly the defective character of historical studies of his native land and he consciously sets before himself the object of removing the defects. In this connection he gives a list of his sources consisting of eleven older chronicles (five of which are mentioned by name), inscriptions of three different kinds and technical treatises. From the internal evidence of his work we learn that the chronicler also utilised the evidence of coins, of living tradition and of eye-witnesses. Not only does Kalhaṇa give us a list of sources which for its variety and importance is sufficiently exhaustive; he also criticises two of the older chroniclers (Suvrata and Kṣemendra), although in very general terms. Again, in the course of his narrative Kalhaṇa refers from time to time discrepant reports or popular rumours about specific events of the past and in two instances he quotes alternative views only to refute them. (Examples of discrepant reports mentioned by the chronicler are those relating to the end of Mihirakula I, 309-17, and of Lalitāditya IV, 367-70, VII, 1428-50, the betrayal of Harṣa VII, 1691-95, the flight of Bhikṣācara from Uccala's

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palace VIII, 224-233). The two instances of his rejection of alternative views are concerned with the identity (II, 6) of Vikramāditya, whose relative Pratāpāditya I reigned after the extinction of the Gonanda dynasty, and with the cause of Yaśaskara's death (V, 108-112).

To the credit of Kalhaṇa must also be mentioned his frequent analysis of motives of his actors expressed graphically in the form of soliloquies and orations. Thus Avantivarman, at the beginning of his reign, is made to indulge in a self-reflection on the vanity of earthly greatness, which leads him to distribute his valuables among Brahmans 'with his own hands as a porridge' V, 5-15. Prince Uccala, rising in revolt against Harṣa, delivers a bold speech at the court of Rājapurī vindicating before his treacherous host his claim to the throne VII, 1282ff. Harṣa, dispirited by the success of the rebels, addresses his ministers in a long speech justifying his decision to court death. Speaking of his aims and their tragic failure, he says that his motive in seeking self-destruction is not the fear of death but that of disgrace attending his reputation at the hands of his unworthy rivals VII, 1416ff. In a few cases, again, the author, while fully sharing the Hindu belief in the omnipotence of fate, traces historical events to their proximate and rational causes. Thus Jayāpīḍa's sudden change from an ambitious conqueror into an oppressor is ascribed directly to the advice of Kāyasthas, IV, 621. The attainment of royal dignity by Yaśaskara 'who was not of royal descent and had wandered over the earth as a pauper' is said to have been possible only through the mad Avanti's extermination of his own family and ousting of the latter's child by the commander-in-chief Kamalavardhana, V, 479-480.

Reference may be made, in the next place, to the historical generalisations which Kalhaṇa, notwithstanding his belief in the working of fate and of the deeds of previous births, draws from time to time from his study of historical facts. Thus in criticising the unfructuous attempt of the commander-in-chief Kamalavardhana to obtain the throne by diplomacy after failing to snatch it by force when within his immediate reach, Kalhaṇa teaches (V, 459-60), as Stein has already shown, the necessity in politics of the quick realisation of the opportune moment and of boldness in seizing it. Again, in commenting on Jayasiṃha's preparations for his expedition against the Śirahśīlā castle he observes (VIII, 2522-23) that failure must result from over-estimating the enemy's resources and undue deliberations in coming into grips with him. Of considerable local interest is what Stein (I, *Intro-*

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duction, p. 37) aptly calls 'the little code of administrative wisdom put into the mouth of king Lalitāditya as a kind of political testament.' In that brief extract (IV, 344ff.) giving in abstract the principles of government adapted to the king's own country is contained what Kalhaṇa evidently believed to be the quintessence of Kashmirian administrative policy. The principles here inculcated are firstly, constant necessity of watchfulness against internal dissensions while ignoring foreign enemies against whom Kashmir is fortified by nature. Next comes the desirability of punishing the mountain tribes 'even if they gave no offence,' for if allowed to acquire wealth they would become very formidable in the shelter of their mountain fastnesses. Then follows the Machiavallian advice not to leave the villagers more food-supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields. For otherwise they would become in a short time very formidable Ḍāmaras capable of resisting the king's orders. In conclusion are stressed other valuable lessons of state-craft like the necessity of guarding the strong places, of selecting the troops from different districts, of preventing a too close union between official families and so forth.

Kalhaṇa's sense of historic justice is well illustrated in his account of the reign of Śaṃkaravarman which he takes to be a good illustration of the dictum (V, 211) that 'those kings who do evil to their subjects have their family, their glory, their life, their wives, nay even their name, destroyed in a moment.' For not only did 'this king of wicked conduct' lose a number of his children by the people's curse, but alone among kings he had the misfortune of disappearance of the name given to his own town. A still more remarkable instance is furnished by the author's striking reflections (VIII, 1951-1961) on the squandering of Sussala's treasures in the Lohara fort by the usurper Mallārjuna. Illustrating his dictum that the wealth which kings acquire by oppressing subjects must fall a prey to rivals or enemies or fire, the author quotes the fate of the royal treasures of Jayāpīḍa, Śaṃkaravarman, Paṅgu (Nirjitavarman), Yaśaskara, Kṣemagupta, Saṃgrāmarāja, Ananta, Kalaśa and Harṣa. By way of contrast the author observes that the lawfully acquired riches of Candrāpīḍa, Uccala, Avantivarman and other kings were never destroyed by improper uses.

In the above we have given a number of illustrations to prove Kalhaṇa's approach towards the position of a critical historian. In other respects however, he falls far short of the standard required for modern historical scholarship. To make a list of his omissions, we may well begin with the

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chronicler's failure to estimate the value of his sources, to quote his authorities for important statements, to give and decide between different versions and so forth. More serious is his failure, to which we have referred above, to recognise the great gulf that separates his ancient or semi-legendary, from his modern or historical period. His account of ancient kings and dynasties is embellished with local and other legends about the authenticity of which he has no doubt, while his record of the victorious exploits of Lalitāditya and other early kings extending to the furthest limits of India is based on evident good faith. Kalhaṇa evidently was not one of those sceptics of his time who, as he says (VII, 1137-38), were 'swayed by doubts in regard to the miraculous deeds of Meghavāhana and other ancient kings', for he puts these miraculous deeds on the same level with 'the astonishing misdeeds' of the historical king Harṣa.

Another blemish of which mention may be made in the present place is the chronicler's belief in the operation of supernatural factors on historical events. Again and again he mentions as sober historical facts the slaying of kings and others by witchcraft (for references see Stein I, *Introd.* p. 31, *n.* 9). Reference may also be made in this connection to the author's beliefs in omens and portents (See Stein, *loc. cit.*, p. 37, *n.* 32 for references).

While drawing from the history of his native land the occasional lessons of state-craft to which we have referred above, Kalhaṇa most often takes the striking historical events to illustrate or justify fundamental Hindu concepts or at any rate maxims of general motality. Among these conceptions we may mention in the first place the influence of the acts of past life on the present existence. To take a few instances, the commander-in-chief Kamalavardhana's failure to seize the throne when it was within his grasp is attributed to his bad policy or else to 'acts done in a previous existence (V, 456ff.). The usurper Parvagūpta's death in a *tīrtha* is ascribed to 'some former merits which had not lost their efficacy' (VI, 147). The plunder of Kashmir by some oppressive officials in the reign of 'Abhimanyu' is the result of 'the sins which this land had accumulated, (VI, 288). The appointment of 'the low-born, mean Kāyastha' Bhadreśvara as his assistant by Tuṅga takes place 'when the merits of his former existence were exhausted' (VII, 37). Kalaśa's sudden change from a voluptuary and oppressor into a vigilant guardian of his subjects' welfare is due to 'the rise in the subjects' fortune caused by their previous merits' (VII, 506). Harṣa's escape from assassination at the hands of his aggrieved subjects is due to his having a balance of

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life-period still left to him, or else 'the sinfulness of his subjects' (VII, 1140-41).

Connected with the above is the author's off-repeated assurance of the omnipotence of fate in the ruling of historical events. It is by the will of fate that the minister Tuṅga is kept in office by the king against his wish (VII, 7) and the attempts of rebels to drive him out turned to his own glory (VII, 28). It is by the same inscrutable cause that he was led to leave for the palace to meet his doom at the hands of conspirators (VII, 79). The rapid and complete overthrow of the noble House of the Śāhis is due to fate which 'effects with ease what even in dreams appears incredible, what fancy fails to reach' (VII, 67). The will of fate makes king Utkarṣa commit the fatal mistake of exchanging the ring which is to be the signal for prince Harṣa's murder (VII, 803). The sorry plight of a pretender who after being honoured by neighbouring chiefs found a mean employment in the royal camp in Uccala's time gives the chronicler the occasion for his striking statement: 'Man's effort resembles a fire in the grass, which by the wind of fate is made to flame up in one place even when subdued and to go out in another even if kindled' (VIII. 220). The tame submission of the brave Ḍāmara Gargacandra to arrest and imprisonment by king Sussala is ascribed to the will of fate 'which makes a person in this world move about wthout free will, just like a puppet pulled by a row of strings' (VIII, 607). To the same mysterious cause is attributed the defeat of Sussala 'the foremost of the all-powerful' at the hands of rebels (VIII, 669-71), as also the fatal delusion which led this most vigilant of kings to give his complete confidence to a double-faced traitor who ended by murdering him in his palace (VIII, 1276-78). The omnipotence of fate is expressed in another striking passage, 'Fate, whose most wonderful power cannot even be imagined in a moment, makes a man fall who stands firmly and raises another who is about to fall, just as the current of a river washes away one river-bank and raises another' (VIII, 1401).

In trying to account for the serious defects of the chronicler to which we have just drawn attention, it is well to remember at the outset that the legendary and anecdotal character along with the bare dynastic lists of his ancient history was probably due in a large measure to the defective character of his sources. In these sources, as Stein (I, *Introd.* p. 29) well shows by the analogy of the later Persian summaries of Kashmir history based on the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the truly historical facts must have been gradually eliminated,

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while the legends and ancedotes receive an increasing measure of attention. To another local cause *viz.*, the geographical isolation of Kashmir we may ascribe with Stein (*Ibid.*, p. 30) that exaggerated sense of importance of the chronicler's own land which is manifest in his description of the world-conquests of Lalitāditya and other kings. The same local factor probably accounts, as Stein (*loc. cit.*) thinks, for the large part which supernatural agencies play in Kalhaṇa's narrative of historical events. For the people of Kashmir down to modern times have been specially 'a *gens religiosissima*.' Other defects in Kalhaṇa's critical treatment of his subject to which reference has been made above, are ascribed by Stein to more general causes about which there is room for difference of opinion. Thus in the first place, Kalhaṇa's uncritical chronology for the ancient times is taken (Stein, *Introd.* p. 32) to vindicate the oft-quoted verdict of the illustrious Muslim scholar Alberuni: 'Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss what to say they invariably take to tale-telling.' But this somewhat sweeping judgment does not certainly apply to Kalhaṇa's long list of kings at least from the commencement of the Utpala dynasty onwards. It applies least of all to his record of recent history with its frequent succession of dated events and presumably also to the period immediately preceding. In the next place Stein explains Kalhaṇa's *naïve* faith in the legends of the Great War of the *Mahābhārata* and the marvellous stories of the early kings of his native land in the light of the characteristic Hindu view of history which may best be stated in his own words as follows (*Introd.* p. 29): 'The Indian mind has never learned to divide mythology and legendary tradition from true history.....The products of religious imagination and epic fiction thus retain a matter-of-fact aspect even for the learned. That spirit of doubt does not arise which alone can teach how to separate tradition from historic truth, to distinguish between the facts and the reflection they have left in the popular mind. Still less can we expect that the changes implied by historical development should be noted and understood.' We may, however, point out that uncritical faith in the ancient heroic legends is by no means confined to the Indian mind of past or present times. We may well match such *naïve* credulity with the unquestioned belief in the legends of the Trojan War and the like which has been the characteristic of the historians of Greece and Rome till

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comparatively recent times. In making the above observation, Stein appears to us to have been hardly alive to a true sense of historical perspective.

General estimate of Kalhaṇa's work

In concluding our estimate of Kalhaṇa as a historian we must remember at the outset the limited scope of his subject. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is wanting in the interest belonging to the rise and fall of a great empire, the conflict of different races and civilizations or the continuous development of internal institutions. In truth it is concerned with the fortunes of a small kingdom which, protected by its mountain-walls, most often stood aloof from the great historical currents that swept over the rest of India. Even the tremendous invasions of the Houses of Ghazna and Ghor which brought the greater part of Northern India under the rule of the Muslim Turks left the Happy Valley under the secure rule of its Hindu princes. The promise of internal consolidation and peaceful progress under the kings of the early historical period was cut short by the misrule of kings and the un-ending rebellions of pretenders and Ḍāmaras in later times. The dreary succession of court-intrigues, conspiracies and rebellions forms the bulk of Kalhaṇa's volume dealing with recent and contemporary history.

It speaks much for Kalhaṇa's qualifications as a historian that he has succeeded in imparting a high degree of interest to his theme. The chronicler's attempt to introduce order and precision into the loose chronology and traditional history of the earlier dynasties was, from want of authentic material, foredoomed to failure. On the other hand Kalhaṇa has given us for the historical period a wonderful picture of his native land which gains continually in historical accuracy and completeness from the beginning of the Kārkoṭa dynasty (Book IV) onwards. Among authors of historical Kāvyas Kalhaṇa occupies a unique position, as we have said above, by virtue of his knowledge of military science, his exact topography and genealogical statements, his attention to chronology, the individuality of his wonderful series of historical portraits, his impartial judgment on the characters of the past as well as the present and lastly, his approach towards historical criticism. In these respects Kalhaṇa may have had a few forgotten predecessors, but beyond doubt he left no successors.

U. N. Ghoshal

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MISCELLANY

Tamil Śaiva Mystic Poets in Medieval South India

From a study of what we may call half-mystic poets we can turn our attention to the pronouncedly mystic poets of Tamil and who have left behind a rich legacy of religious literature overflowing with the milk of unadulterated devotion. The beginning of the seventh century marked the advent of a new era in the history of South Indian religion. We have the unmistakable authority of the inscriptions to show that the Jains, of whom the name of Vajranandi is prominently mentioned, have firmly established themselves in the Tamilagam and founded a *Dravida Sanga*. The institution of the Sanga was a blessing in disguise to the Tamils. The Jains took more and more interest in the Tamil literature and culture and Jaina authors cultivated the language with much more keenness and avidity and produced literature of the type of *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* the beauties of which are universally admired in the Tamil land. We shall speak in the sequel in detail the contribution of the Jains to Tamil literature. Mention has already been made that Nāladiyār which follows the Tirukkuṛaḷ in several respects is, according to the Jaina tradition, the first product of the *Dravida Sangam*. Even the author of the Tirukkuṛaḷ is claimed to be a Jaina. Similarly the Buddhists also spread over the length and breadth of the Tamil nāḍu, and had their contribution to enrich the Tamil literature.

The rise of Jains and Buddhists in larger numbers and the popularity of their literature among the masses, and their patronage by the ruling chieftains of the land led to an intense movement whose object it was to revive the old religion and establish it firmly in the Tamil land. This movement which was a fight to preserve the cherished and hallowed traditions of the Tamil land was launched by the Nāyanmāras and Āḻvārs with great zeal and a new burning enthusiasm. The fight was not a bloody one which was a characteristic feature of religious wars in the history of Europe and other countries. It was a wordy warfare, and the success depended upon learned disputations and disquisitions in which the reigning kings of the land took no insignificant part. These Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs went about the whole of the Tamil land and visited the principal sacred shrines and sang hymns in

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honour of those shrines. They carried with them the torch of the established religion—Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism—flashing the masses with its light.

Among the works in Tamil held as canonical by the Śaivites the Tevāram occupies a unique place. As we generally speak of the first three Āḷvārs, it is a custom to speak of the Tevāram trio, and these were Tirujñānasambandar or Sambandar, Tirunāvukkaraśu Nāyanār or Appar and Sundaramūrtisvāmigal or Sundarar. These reformers lived in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. and hymned songs in praise of Śiva, quite adapted to Indian tunes and in metres peculiar to that class of literature. Some of these hymns were ordered by kings to be sung in temples in their daily service even during the time of these Nāyanmārs. These Nāyanmārs were soon canonised, and their sculptures began to adorn many a Śiva temple of the period. The collected hymns of these three Nāyanmārs come to 797 stanzas, and it was given to one Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi to systematise and compile them like Vyāsa of ancient times, in an accepted and acceptable order. Some scholars believe that this was done about 1000 A.D. while others put it a little earlier.

Speaking on the hymns themselves, we find in them a sweet and at the same time serene atmosphere prevailing. These are devotional outpourings under the influence of passion and emotion. One can find subtle differences in this melodious outburst of tuneful accents. It has been well said[1] that Sambandar's hymns represent the dawn, Appar's and Sundarar's represent the noon and the evening. The hymns of Māṇikkavāśagar represent the night of the day. In other words, the hymns of the four Nāyanmārs including Māṇikkavāśagar represent the four divisions of a day. Sambandar's songs possess the radiance of the dawn, Appar's the dazzling splendour of the noon, Sundarmūrti's the serenity and composure of the evening and Māṇikkavāśagar's the hushed and soothing sweetness of the night. The hymns of these four Nāyanmārs, it may be also said, explain the four stages of life process. Sambandar's is that of an innocent child, Appar's of a grown-up adult, Sundarar's of a lover and Māṇikkavāsagar of an anchorite. These song hymns are full of life and colour, and the philosophy underlying them is all theism.[2]

All the Tevāram hymns are in glorification of Śiva, the different forms

1 See Intro. to K. S. Ramaswami Sastri's *Śaiva Nayanmars.*
2 *Ibid.*

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in which He manifested Himself at different periods of time. Generallly He is described in human form wearing hides of tiger and elephant, and garlands of skulls. Reference to his dances is also common. The songs are replete with the heroic exploits of the Lord, of which the Purāṇas are full. The conception of the Jotir liṅgam or pillar of fire is brought out in many a hymn. It is said that Śiva assumed this form of a pillar whose height and depth Brahmā and Viṣṇu could not find in spite of persistent search. The swallowing of poison produced by the churning of ocean for nectar which earned him the name of Nīlakaṇṭha, the burning of the three castles of the Asuras (Tripuradāhana) suspended from the Heavens and the quelling of Rāvaṇa's overweening pride are often the subject of praise at the hands of these Nāyanmārs.[3]

The four Śaiva Samayācāryas

1. Sambandar

I have elsewhere given a life-sketch of these four Śaiva mystics.[4] It is not, therefore, necessary to traverse the same ground here. But it would not be out of place to review them here supplementing the information already furnished. Sambandar was a child saint. His hymns comprise the first three *Tirumurais*, all full of musical accents. In these hymns we find a complete transformation in language and style. The classical style of the Śangam works has become a thing of the past. Even in the language of the *antātis*, one notices perceptible change. Material changes are effected in the hymns of the Tevāram. It is said that we have as many as one hundred varieties of metre in the poetry of Sambandar. The following remarks of the late Professor Sundaram Pillai are worth quoting in this connection. "Even considered as a poet he has more than ordinary claims to be remembered. His hymns of which 384 patigams or more than 19000 lines are now extant, are models of pure and elevated diction, generally earnest and touching, but always melodious and well tuned. Most of them appear to have been uttered *impromptu;* and all of them being lyrical are set to music. The original tunes are now mostly forgotten. They are lost

3 See also Intro. to *Hymns of the Tamil Saivite Saints* by F. Kingsbury & G. E. Phillips (Heritage of India Series).

4 V. R. R. Dikshitar: *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*—Second Edn. Madras University.

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in the later airs introduced by the Aryan musicians of the north. Taken all in all, Sambandar must be put down as a true and great Tamil poet, certainly the greatest in the lyrical department.' Sambandar's chief activity was to put down the Jaina faith and its leaders. It may be said without any fear of contradiction that his propaganda went far to arrest the march of Jainism in the Tamil land.

2. Appar

Proceeding to examine the next Nāyanār, Appar, who has been well termed the peasant mystic. The sculptured portraits of Appar now found in India and Ceylon always show him carrying a kind of instrument in his hands. It resembles in shape the plough. Tradition affirms that whenever Appar went to the shrines, he invariably took the instrument with him. There he went on clearing the floor, of the grass, and the walls, of the weeds, due to neglect of the temple servants for years together. He thought that it was a good piece of service which he could render to the God enshrined in such temples which he had the honour and the privilege to visit. It is not necessary to give the names of all the temples, but suffice it to say that he visited as many as one hundred and thirty-two shrines. That our saint looked upon agriculture and husbandry as the noblest of of professions is seen from his verses which are full of what one may call agricultural lore. In religion he is preeminently a theist. He regards the God as the Absolute and Transcendant. His contributions which are the passionate outpourings at the different temples he visited are evidences of his unparalleled mastery over the Tamil language. That was why he was called Nāvukkaraśu (lit. the king of the tongue). His poems comprise three *Tirumurais* which consist of about 300 poems. Each is of ten stanzas of four lines unlike the patigams of Sambandar which generally consist of 11 or 12 stanzas of which the last is always a benedictory one. His poetry is full of lyric charm and it appears that this saint did not attach much weight to the form of the verse but paid scrupulous attention to the effect which would produce on the reader or the hearer,—the effect of euphony.

3. Sundaramūrti

The next saint accepted in the traditional order is Sundarmūrti svāmigal. That the Jains and Buddhists continued to flourish during his age is evident from his hymns where he speaks of them in disparaging terms. In fact the eleventh verse of every patigam is devoted to a condemnation of these here-

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tical sects. His song hymns form the seventh *Tirumurai* and are about a hundred in number. These are uniformly characterised by pathos and piety combined with a majesty of melody. There is a freshness and charm about the poems. He is greatly remembered for his work *Tiruttoṇḍattogai*.

The story about *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* is that when the saint Sundarar was entering the temple of Tiruvārūr for worshipping Śiva in the inner shrine, he paid no heed to the Bhaktas who were (evidently incorporeally) in the Devāśrayan Maṇḍapam. This was resented by them and so Śiva asked Sundarar to go back and sing in praise of them. The song which he thus sang was Tiruttoṇḍattogai. This was the same material which was worked up into the *Periya Purāṇam* later (10th or 11th century A.D.) by Śekkiḷār Nāyanār. But for the later work (based upon Sundarar's song) there would have been no knowledge about the sixty-three special Bhaktas of Śiva called 63 Nāyanmārs, and the worship of Śiva in South Indian shrines could not have developed its special characteristics. Further, the development of Śaivism in South India might have been on different lines. It is thus Sundarar's song (Tiruttoṇḍattogai) is the foundation stone upon which was built a very large part of the superb edifice of South Indian Śaivism.

4. Māṇikkavāśagar

Of all the Śaiva saints the name of Māṇikkavāśagar has attained a great popularity and every Tamil home of the Śaiva denomination is familiar with his name and poems. The *Tiruvāśagam* has been canonised, and its fifty-one poems are sung during times of prayer in all Śaiva temples in the Tamil land. The late Rev. G. U. Pope has done a great service to advance Tamil culture by his edition with translation of that immortal work, the pride and solace of all Tamil Śaivas. (Oxford, 1900). He has expressed it as his opinion that Māṇikkavāśagar has been profoundly influenced by the doctrines of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and in his poems Śiva takes the place of Kṛṣṇa. (Intro. p. xxxvi).

In the *Tiruvāśagam* we meet with as many as fourteen metres, and these are classified under veṇbā, kalīpa, āśiriyam and viruttam. Veṇbā is a relic of the Śangam productions. Kalipa is that characterised by quick rhythm and there is no restriction in the number of feet. Āśiriyam is aphoristic metre of which three varieties are distin-

5 For details see Pope: *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxviii to xcii.

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guished. Viruttam consists of stanzas, mostly quartrains varying from four feet to eight feet.[5] This only demonstrates the progress of Tamil language and literature in the march of time. Before we close we may say a word about his achievements. With him the revival of Śaivism was complete. No more could its foundations be shaken. His teachings may be said to anticipate the glorious system of the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy of which we shall have occasion to refer in a future issue of the Journal.

There is a peculiar interest that is attached to the place of this saint in the history of South Indian Śaivism. One thing is certain and that is that Māṇikkavāśagar is not one of the 63 Nāyanmārs. He stands on a separate pedestal. Even Appar, in spite of his spiritual eminence, kept worship and service of the God as his supreme ideal. Māṇikkavāśagar lived on a different mystical plane. He aspired for unification with Śiva,[6] and he successfully realised his aspiration. His songs bear unmistakable evidences of the different degrees of delight experienced by him in his onward march along the road of self-realisation.

A dispassionate study of the Tevāram and allied literature of the period in Tamil demonstrates beyond doubt how the Purāṇic Hinduism had got established in South India in the early centuries of the Christian era. The glorification of Śiva and the numerous references to his acts and deeds are all based on the accounts elaborately furnished by what are called Śaiva Purāṇas. The Vedic faith, where gods of nature were the principal deities of worship and prayer, had yielded place to the new faith adumbrated in the Purāṇas. This new faith took the shape of offering one's prayers to Śiva and Viṣṇu, and their consorts and sons, even to their relatives. The movement of the Nāyanmārs, as also that of the Āḻvārs, as we shall see later, was the resultant consequence of the Purāṇic wave of Hinduism which spread itself out in all India.

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar

6 cittantaṇaiccivamākki yeṇaiyāṇḍa.

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Śabdabhedaprakāśaṭīkā by Jñānavimalagaṇi

(composed in A.D. 1598)

The *Śabdabhedaprakāśa* is a small dictionary of nouns which, though identical in meaning, differ in their spelling. It is composed by Maheśvara, the celebrated author of *Viśvaprakāśa*. Jñānavimalagaṇi who belonged to the Kharataragaccha line of Jain priests wrote a commentary on this work. This commentary aims at giving the derivation of every word in the text and tries to give the etymology of the words wherever possible.

The commentator begins his work by offering his salutations to Śāntinātha and Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. Next he pays honour to Abhayadevasūri, Jinadattasūri and Jinakuśalasūri. He then proceeds to mention some of his authorities on which he has based his commentary. These authorities are: *Viśvaprakāśa, Bhāguri, Vaijayantī, Vyāḍi, Śāśvata* and the *Pathyāpathyanighaṇṭu*.[1] Apart from these authorities Jñānavimala quotes numerous works and authors in his commentary. The following is the list[2] of authors and works quoted by him:—

अजय, fol. 12[b], 74[a], 79[b], 80[b], 90[b] etc.
अनुभूतिस्वरूपाचार्य, 2[a]
अमर, 26[b], 28[a], 32[b], 34[b], 40[b]; 46[b], 49[b], 58[a], 71[a] etc.
अमरटीका, 18[a], 95[b], 96[b], 97[a]
अरुण, 79[a], 79[b], 80[b], 81[a], 82[a]
इन्द्रव्याकरण, 2[a], 4[a]
एकाक्षरकोश, 60[a]
कविकल्पद्रुम, 3[b], 28[b], 37[a], 48[a], 77[a]
कविराज, 28[a]
काल्य, 46[b], 71[b]
काल्यायनाचार्य, 1[b]
कालापव्याकरण, 2[a]
कालिदास, 2[b]
क्षीरस्वामी, 5[b], 10[b], 18[a], 25[a], 51[b]
गौड, 18[b], 21[b], 23[a], 25[b], 33[a], 38[a], 46[a], 70[a], 74[b], 77[b] etc.
चन्द्रगोमी, 59[b]
दुर्ग, 31[a], 77[b], 78[b], 79[b], 80[a] 80[b], 82[a] etc.
देवनन्दी, 94[a], 96[a]
धनपाल, 2[b]
धातुपाठवृत्ति, 31[a]
नन्दी, 77[a], 78[a], 78[b], 79[b], 82[b]
निघण्टु, 91[a], 96[a]
नैरुक्ताः, 16[b]
पाणिनि, 20[a]
पाणिनीयसूत्र 13[a], 43[b]
बीजकोश, 85[a]
बुद्धिसागराः, 78[b], 79[a], 79[b], 81[b], 82[a]

1 Cf. विश्वप्रकाशभागुरिविजयंतव्याडिशाश्वतादीनाम् ।
शास्त्राणि वीक्ष्य पथ्यापथ्याभिधसन्निधण्टुं च ॥४॥ etc.

2 This list is prepared from Ms. no. 100 of A. 1883-84 of the Govt. Mss. Collection at the Bhadarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

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भागुरि, 5[b], 18[b], 27[b], 33[a]
भारत, 60[a]
भाष्यकार, 61[b]
भोज, 91[a]
मङ्ख, 31[a], 35[a], 37[b], 45[a], 48[b], 65[a], 82[b]
मनु, 8[a], 24[b], 74[a], 75[a]
माघ, 2[b], 40[b]
माला, 70[a], 70[b], 78[a], 79[a], 79[b], 80[a] etc.
मालाकार, 79[b]
मुग्धबोधव्याकरण, 2[a]
मौलिः, 9[b]
रत्नकोश, 92[b]
वररुचि, 2[b]
वर्णविवेक, 28[a]
वाचस्पति, 13[a], 21[a], 35[a], 54[a], 61[a], 61[b], 72[a], 76[b], 78[b] etc.
वामन, 78[b], 79[a], 85[b]
विक्रमादित्यकोश, 28[a]
वैजयन्ती, 9[a], 9[b], 11[a], 51[a], 54[a], 61[a], 70[a], 73[a], 76[b] etc.
वैजयन्तीकार, 18[b], 19[a], 36[a], 45[b]
वोपदेव, 2[a]
वोपालित, 21[b], 77[b], 88[b]
व्याडि, 5[b], 58[a]
शब्दानुशासनवृत्ति, 2[a]
शाकटायनाचार्याः, 2[a], 78[a], 82[a], 83[b]
शाश्वत, 13[b], 82[b], 93[a]
सारस्वतीप्रक्रिया, 2[a]
सिद्धहेमचन्द्र, 2[a]
हर्ष, 2[b], 79[b], 80[a], 82[a]
हर्षवृत्ति, 92[b]
हारावलि, 26[b]
हेमचन्द्र, 2[a], 20[a], 31[a]
हैमव्याकरण, 13[b].

In the concluding portion of his commentary Jñānavimala gives his own spiritual lineage. Prof. Peterson has summarized the Praśasti given by Jñānavimlagaṇi, in the following lines: "He begins with the rise of the Kharatara sect, which he places in the year 1080 after Vikrama = A.D. 1024, Jineśvara overthrew the Caityavāsins in the assembly convened by king Durlabha. To the same gaṇa belonged Abhayadevasūri, the author of commentaries on the nine aṅgas beginning with the Sthānāṅga and the saint whose prayers brought forth the famed Cambay image of the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha. He was succeeded by Jinavallabhācārya, the author of a work on *karma* and many other books. He was succeeded by Jinadattasūri. From Jinadattasūri the list goes after a break to Jinamāṇikyasūri, whose successor was Jinacandrasūri of the Rīhaḍa race, who obtained from Akbar the title of Yugapradhāna. Devendrasūri and Jinasiṃhasūri were contemporaries of Jinacandrasūri, and Jñānavimala, the author of this book, one of his many pupils."[3]

Jñānavimala compposed his commentary at Vikramapura i.e. Bikaner when Rājasiṃha[4] was ruling there. The date of composition of the work as

3 Peterson, *A Second Report of Operations in search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Circle for 1883-84*, p. 65.

4 This Rājasiṃha seems to be identical with Rāi Siṃha, the ruler of Bikaner

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given by the author is, Sunday, the 2nd day of the dark half of the month Āṣāḍha of the Saṃvat year 1654.[5] This date corresponds to Sunday, the 9th July 1598.[6] The verses in which the name of the author's patron and the date of composition are mentioned, are as follows:—

श्रीमद्विक्रमनगरे राजच्छ्रीराजसिंहनृपराज्ये ।
सल्लीकचकवाकप्रमोदसूर्योदये सम्यक् ॥२४॥
चतुराननवदनेन्द्रियरसखसुधासंमिते लसद्वर्षे ।
श्रीमद्विक्रमनृपतौ निक्रान्तेतीव कृतहर्षे ॥२५॥
शुभोपयोगे शुभयोगयुक्ते चरे द्वितीयादिवसेतिशुद्धे ।
आषाढमासस्य विशुद्धपक्षे पुष्यर्क्षसंयुक्तगभस्तिवारे ॥२८॥ etc.

M. M. PATKAR

Siege and Surrender of Ranthambhor, 1569 A. D.

According to the *Akbarnāma*, Ranthambhor was surrendered in 1569 A.D. by its Governor Surjan Hāḍā as the result of the intercession of Akbar's courtiers and high officers. Dissatisfied with this summary account, Smith quotes Tod's detailed story from the *Annals of Būndī*, remarking that "the story is so remarkable and throws so much light upon Akbar's Rajput policy that it is worth while to transcribe" its condensed version "at considerable length."[2] With a view to deciding the historical value of this account we reproduce it here, with some slight omissions, from Smith's *Akbar, the Great Mogul*.[3]

"Rānthambhor was an early object of Akbar's attention who besieged it in person. He had been some time before it without the hope of its surrender, when Bhagwāndās of Āmber and his son Rājā Mān determined

and the son of Kalyāṇa Singh, who died in 1571. Rāi Singh was the first Rājā of Bikaner and one of Akbar's most distinguished generals. He gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Salim (afterwards the emperor Jahangir), built the main fort of Bikaner, and died in 1611 (vide *Rajputana Gazetteer*, 1908, vol. III, B. *p.* 85).

5 Prof. Peterson has wrongly read the chronogram to mean 1694. This is due to the mistake made by him in taking the word 'इन्द्रिय' as representing 'nine' instead of as 'five,' *ibid.*, p. 85.

6 Vide S. Pillai: *Indian Ephemeris*, 1922 vol. V. p. 599.

1 Vol. II, pp. 494-497. 2 Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 98.

3 Pp. 98-99. I have at places slightly changed the wording of Smith's version with a view to making it shorter.

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to use their influence to make Surjan Hāḍā faithless to his pledge—to hold the castle as a fief of Chitor. Rajput courtesy obtained Raja Mān access to the castle, and the emperor accompanied him in the guise of a mace-bearer. An uncle of the Rāo recognised Akbar. Akbar, however, did not lose his presence of mind, and Rājā Mān asked Surjan to leave the Rāṇā, and to become the servant of the King with high honours and office. The proferred bribe was indeed magnificent—the government of fifty-two districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without enquiry on furnishing the customary contingent and liberty to name any other terms.

"A treaty was accordingly drawn up on the spot granting the Hāḍās exemption from all practices regarded as derogatory by the Hindus."

The above account does not, no doubt, conflict with the summary facts related by Abul Fazl. But that it is nevertheless unreliable would be obvious enough to those reading the *Surjancarit*, a contemporary work which being written by the order of Surjan Hāḍā, the Governor of Ranthambhor in 1569, and with materials supplied by him, must be regarded as our best Hindu source regarding the siege and surrender of Ranthambhor. We reproduce its account here, divesting it of all poetical exaggeration and conventional description:—

"Having conquered the rest of the earth, Akbar, the Emperor of Delhi, tried to acquire Ranthambhor, the capital of Surjan. Thirteen times the Rajputs beat back the Muslims. The next time, however, the Mughal army was led by the Emperor himself. Surjan was not at the time in the fort. But as soon as he heard that the fort had been besieged, he marched out from Pattanapura with a large force to relieve his stronghold. He succeeded in getting there without much difficulty and the very next day gave battle to the Mughal army which consisted not merely of cavalry and elephants but also of an efficient park of artillery. The fight was of the most furious character. But towards evening the enemy appeared to be gaining the upper hand; so Surjan himself led an attack and that with such effect that Akbar had to appeal to his commanders to stop somehow the victorious advance of this redoubtable Rajput warrior. They killed Surjan's horse, cut his bow-string and pierced his armour. But even then he fought on with nothing but his trusty sword left to himself, and Akbar was constrained to admire this courage and bravery of his gallant enemy. At this stage evening supervened. So the Emperor retired to his camp and Surjan to the fort.

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"The next day when Surjan was getting ready to sally out again with his force, a *saciva* of the Emperor reached the gate of the fort. He was well received and delivered the following message,

"Pleased with your bravery, the Emperor rewards you with the territories lying adjacent to the Narmadā, the *maṇḍala* of Mathurā and the holy city of Benares. It is no good fighting against an exceedingly mighty foe. Accept these therefore and surrender instead the fort of Ranthambhor to the Emperor."

"Surjan agreed to these terms, being himself desirous of visiting these sacred places. He, accordingly, left Ranthambhor and went away with his people to the banks of the Narmadā."[4]

The above account does not obviously lend much support to Tod's "detailed story." It shows Surjan receiving not the magnificent bribe of the government of 52 districts but of only three. There is no mention also of the romantic episode of Akbar's entry into the fort disguised as the mace-bearer of Raja Mānsingh. Though he might have actually done something to bring together the Hāḍās and the Mughals,[5] this Rajput Prince is not mentioned even once in the *Surjancarit* and cannot be identified also with the *saciva* said to have been sent into Ranthambhor[6] to negotiate the terms of its surrender, for on turning to the *Akbarnāma* we find this person to be Husain Kuli Khān, a trusted officer of the empire who was later on known as Khān Jahān and was appointed to the responsible and risky posts of the governorships of the Punjab and Bengal.[7]

So Tod's account is not, after all, of much historical value. If future historians of Akbar's reign want to supplement the meagre account of the siege and surrender of Ranthambhor in 1569 A.D., found in the *Akbarnāma* they should rely not on the *Annals of Būndī* but on the *Surjancarit*, a work of great value for the history of the Chauhāns of Ranthambhor and Būndī.

DASARATHA SHARMA

4 *Surjancarit*, Cantos 16 and 17.

5 I do not deny the possibility because, in the *Akbarnāmā*, we find a servant of Bhagwant Dās dying at the hands of a Rājpūt in the train of Surjan's sons and exclaiming to the end that he was a friend of both the parties. The accident occurred at the time of these Princes' visit to the Emperor's court.

6 See the account summarised above.

7 *Akbarnāmā*, II, p. 495.

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Hyder Ali's Appeal to the Hon'ble East India Co., 1764*

The Hon'ble East India Company was particularly interested in the capture of pepper and sandalwood markets of Mysore. To see the monopoly of this trade safely assigned to them, they requested Hyder Ali's help in their enterprise.

In his letter dated the 27th August 1764, Hyder Ali writes to the Bombay Council as follows.' By Muhamed Husain I received your letter and the presents you sent to me which gave me great satisfaction. I observed all that you say and Manockjee has told me everything for you. The trade of pepper and sandalwood is entirely yours, and I wish our friendship may daily be more and more increased for our mutual happiness."[1]

Hyder Ali at this time was not on good terms with the Marathas. Taking undue advantages of their internal troubles, he captured their possessions like Sera and others. The Peshwa Madhav Rao was making preparations to lead expedition against Hyder Ali. Such being the attitude of the Peshwa, Hyder Ali wanted to court the Nizam and the English to his side, with the object of destroying the Marathas. He also repulsed a small force of about 4000 soldiers of the Marathas under the command of Gopal Rao and Vithal Shivde. Referring to his victory, Hyder Ali informed the British, 'That the Marathas have been twice repulsed by me and are now retired about three days journey off. Still we are not friends. Nawab Nizam Ally Khan proposes to come here with his force and then if you join us, we three can entirely defeat the Marathas. And all the country to the Northward belonging to the Marathas shall be delivered to you by our assistance. You need not appear in it. Let me only be the acting man. When this country was in the Moghul's possession you had your factories from Carwar to Dabhool, and by destroying the Marathas, you will not only have those factories again but get lakhs of rupees annually.[2]

Hyder Ali also informed the English that the Siddi of Janjira, too, had appealed to the Nizam, signifying his intention to co-operate with them provided the English joined them. Continuing further, he observed, "They have great revenues at Arcot, where I am told they propose taking

* The object of writing this article is to fill in the lacuna, or, rather to supplement Dr. N. K. Sinha's article, 'Hyder Ali's Relations with the British,' *Indian Historical Records Commission's Proceedings*, Baroda Session, (17th), p. 69.

1 Public Dept. Diary, 10, pp. 592-594. 2 *Ibid.*

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all the places belonging to the English. The Ghaut of Arcot is in my hands and I have prevented them from coming to this side. The places there and Chinnapatam are all opened and if the Marathas which consists of 50,000 to 60,000 men should come, they will ruin the English country. This, Your Honour must be sensible of and if you think proper write to the Governor of Madras to join us. We shall go against the Marathas and drive them from the river Cristna. If they are demolised, the English country will be in peace and tranquility"! He therefore requested the English to supply him with guns, soldiers, and ammunition from Bombay at his own expense.[3] Further he asked them to write to their governor of Chinapatam to render him help, the expenses of which would be borne by him.[4]

Fearing that Mahummed Ali was carrying on wicked tales to prejudice the Governor of Madras against him, Hyder Ali wrote to say, 'Please acquaint the Madras Gentleman that you are sending a force to help me and desire them to do the same. Muhamed Ally Khan is always telling the Governor of Madras idle tales to my prejudice and endeavours to get him against me but he is a good man and does not regard what Muhomed Ally Khan tells and continues to correspond with me.'[5] To safeguard against the treachery of the Portuguese, Hyder Ali, asked the English to inform the Portuguese that he was their friend, and as such he should not be molested. He then requested the English to send him five guns 25 pounders, five guns 28 pounders and five thousand English and German muskets. He also promised to pay their charges and expenses through the Resident in his state.[6]

Hyder Ali promised to send all the pepper and sandalwood to the English as before and to continue the supply for a year more. The English fearing that the Marathas would attack Hyder Ali's ports such as Onnore and destroy their valuable depots and godowns, promised to consider his proposal. They knew that Hyder Ali would not be able to spare any troops to defend their factories and godowns of pepper and sandalwood and others. And it was in their interest to keep a small vessel for patrolling the coastal seas. This would have double advantage—killing two birds with one stroke —to strike terror in the minds of the Marathas and to increase their in-

3 Public Dept. Diary, 10, pp. 592-594.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*

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fluence over Hyder Ali.[7] They pondered over his proposal deeply before committing themselves to Hyder Ali. They enquired into the nature of advantages accruing from their support to Hyder Ali. But the President of the Bombay Council thought that it was not the proper time for the English to come into an open conflict with the Marathas, because Hyder Ali had lost a good number of soldiers and horses due to sickness and desertion, neither of which he could recruit in his country. On the contrary, the Marathas had prudently divided their army into different winter quarters and by this means suffered very little from the severity of the weather.[8]

Inspite of these drawbacks, Hyder Ali submitted a fresh proposal to the Englllish as follows.[9]

1. That the English should help both Nizam Ali and himself with such a force as to depress the Marathas.

2. For rendering such help, Hyder Ali promised to procure from the Nizam, the grant of all the country situated below the ghauts from Goa to Surat, which might be captured by the combined forces of the three.

3. No member of the contracting parties was to make peace with the Marathas without the consent of all the three parties.

4. The Nizam was to allow double batta to the English soldiers but as his finances were low, he desired the Hon'ble Co. to bear the expenses of paying their own troops.

5. On his part, Hyder Ali promised to bear the expenses of any party that come to his succour and promised to advance 2 or 3 lakhs of rupees on that account.

In case the above terms were acceptable to the Hon'ble Co., Hyder promised that the Hon'ble East India Co. could have exclusive rights of all pepper in his dominions and a preference on every other branch of trade.[11] He also promised to get the terms ratified by the Nizam, with whose permission, he said he had opened the negotiations.[12]

Hyder Ali nevertheless wanted the English to help him with ammunation and soldiers, even in case his proposal met a flat refusal.

As the Maratha army under Madhav Rao was encamped near Hyder's the Hon'ble Co. felt that his position was precarious and as such it was not

7 Public Dept. Diary, 10, pp. 546-547. 8 *Ibid.*
9 *Ibid.* 10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.* 12 *Ibid.*

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safe. Therefore they declined to extend any help to him for fear of exciting the Marathas. Secondly, the terms of Hyder Ali were not very attractive to them.

K. Sajan Lal

A New Reference to the Guṇapatākā

It was Mr. P. K. Gode who first invited[1] the attention of students of Sanskrit literature to the *Guṇapatākā*, a lost Sanskrit work, of which only *five* references were available to him, and on the basis of which he assigns the work to a period earlier than A.D. 1200.

Dr. V. Raghavan later announced[2] a few more references he had come across. From the *three* allusions[3] to the *Guṇapatākā* in the commentary of Kāñcīnātha on the *Ratirahasya* as a *Śāstra*, he infers that this work must be a treatise on Erotics. He also assigns the work to the period *c.* 1010-1062 A.D.

The object of this small note is to draw the notice of scholars to the *Kakokaśāstraṭīke*, an anonymous commentary in Kannada on the *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka. It belongs to *c.* 1600 A.D., and refers to the *Guṇapatākā* as an earlier work on Erotics. The late R. Narasimhācārya seems to have examined a Ms. of this work, and the entire information given by me above is based on his description[4] of this commentary. I have not myself come across any Ms. of it.

This new reference does not contradict the date already proposed for the *Guṇapatākā*. On the contrary, it supports it, whether such a confirmation is necessary or not. It has, however, the merit of being able to establish that the *Guṇapatākā* is an ancient treatise on Erotics, a fact which was still now, more or less, an inference. And even if this merit is to be questioned, it has doubtless a value as an additional reference to a work which is still to be described as lost.

H. G. Narahari

1 P. K. Gode, *IHQ.*, vol. XVII, pp. 82 ff.
2 V. Raghavan, *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, p. 166 f.
3 *Ratirahasya* (Benares Edn.), pp. 35, 37 and 44.
4 R. Narasimhacarya, *Karṇāṭaka Kavicarite*, III. 287 ff.

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Seals of an unknown Dynasty from Nālandā

Of the royal seals found in the excavations at Nālandā and now published in Dr. Hirananda Sastri's *Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Materials*, there are two fragmentary seals giving the genealogy of a ruler whose name is missing.[1] The fragments allow us to frame the following genealogy:

(Mahārāja) Lavkhāṇa
|
(Mahārājādhirāja) name missing
m. Vittavvadevī
|
(Mahārāja) Jarīva[2]
m. Melyādevī[3]
|
(Mahārājādhirāja) name missing
|
Name missing
(author of the seal)

It is clear that the seal does not belong to any well-known dynasty of India; indeed, from the curious names it has been surmised that 'the dynasty to which this seal belonged might have been of some non-Aryan descent.'

Cunningham, in describing the coins of the Hūṇas, makes us acquainted with a coin with the legend *Rāja-Lakhana Udayāditya*,[4] which is alike in type, size and general fabric to the coins of Shāhi Javula and Deva Shāhi Khiṅgila, the latter of whom he identifies with Khiṅkhila Narendrāditya, one of the rulers of Kashmir mentioned by Kalhaṇa (i. 347)[5] as closely following Mihirakula. He concludes that these three rulers were supreme monarchs of an extensive empire, of which Kashmir was only a tributary province.

Another Hūṇa ruler known from a few coins was Shāhi Jara...or Jari.... who issued coins of different types.[6] Commenting on them, Cunningham

1 Sastri, *Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Materials*, Memoir of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 66, p. 70, pl. ix, *c-d*.

2 I propose this reading for *Jarāvva* in the published text. For the form of the superscript *ī*, cf. *śrī* before *ja*. Contrast also the forms of *rā* occurring elsewhere on the seals.

3 There seems to exist an obliterated letter between *lyā* and *de* on the first seal.

4 Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 97, 111, pl. vii, 12: The correct reading, to judge from the plate, seems to be *Lakhāṇa*.

5 Stein, vol. I, p. 52.

6 Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, pp. 98, 114, pl. viii, 11-14.

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says: 'The name seems to be incomplete, but four coins of different issues offer nothing further... These coins I would assign to Gandhāra.'

The probable identity of Lavkhāṇa and Jarīva of the Nālandā seals with the Hūṇa Lakhāṇa and Jari... of the coins cannot be overlooked, especially as the palæography of the seals and coins would indicate the same period for them. Owing to the extremely fragmentary condition of the seals the names of not more than two rulers can be made out on them. Had more names been left to us, we could probably have been able to identify all of them with those of Hūṇa rulers of north-western India known from coins, making the proposed identifications certain.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also mentions (iii. 383) a ruler called Laṅkhaṇa Narendrāditya in the second Gonanda dynasty. Following Cunningham's identification of Khiṅgila of the coins with Khiṅkhila of Kalhaṇa, Stein observes: 'It appears very probable that by Laṅkhaṇa Narendrāditya of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is meant the same king who calls himself Laṅkhaṇa Udayāditya on the coins.'[7] Whatever value be attached to Kalhaṇa's narrative before the Kārkoṭaka dynasty, it should be noted in fairness that the succession after Lavkhāṇa in the Nālandā seal is utterly different from that of Laṅkhaṇa in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, where he is succeeded by his brother Tuñjīna Raṇāditya and not by a son. The names of the successive queens are also different. Whether these facts indicate two different rulers or whether the differences are due to the unreliability of Kalhaṇa's account before the seventh century A.D. is a point on which we cannot be sure due to gaps in our knowledge of the history of the Hūṇas.

A. Ghosh

7 *Loc. cit.*, p. 106. Cf. p. 66 of the Introduction.

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REVIEWS

ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA (HINDU PERIOD), by late Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar M.A., Revised and edited by Gurty Venkata Rao, M.A., LL.B., Reader in History, Andhra University. Published by the Andhra University, Andhra University Series, No. 27, 1942.

The author of this book was "a luminary in the South Indian educational horizon." He died in 1931, leaving the present work incomplete. "In response to the request of his family the Andhra University undertook to publish this last work of his and entrusted its editing to Mr. Gurty Venkata Rao, M.A., LL.B., Reader in History." Mr. Rao has offered the book to the public after a thorough revision of the author's manuscript, "rewriting certain portions and supplying certain omissions." The Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University says in his *Foreword* that "the work in its present form is almost a joint production."

The book deals with the history of ancient India from the earliest times down to *circa* 900 A.D. The author frankly writes from the South Indian standpoint. "On his theory," says the Vice-Chancellor, "there is no ground for claiming South India as Dravidasthan, since the whole of India is more or less Dravidasthan." On many aspects of ancient Indian history his conclusions are startingly bold and original. For instance. "The chief difference between the Dasyus and the Āryas was one of cult and not of culture or race," "the Vedic rites developed from pre-Aryan ones." "Āgamas were evolved from ancient Dasyu practices and theories;" etc. The author has not offered convincing arguments in support of these novel conclusions. The chief interest of the book consists in the data from Tamil literature which the author frequently refers to.

A. C. BANERJEE

THE EARLY MUSLIM EXPANSION IN SOUTH INDIA, by N. Venkataramanyya, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras, Madras University Historical Series, No. 17, 1942. Pp. 216.

The fall of the Hindu States of Southern India in the first half of the fourteenth century as a result of Turkish aggression is an episode of vital

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importance in the history of medieval India. More than two decades ago Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar described the history of the early Muslim inroads into the Deccan in his *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* (1921). Dr. Aiyangar's chapter on the "Hindu States in Southern India" in *The Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, 1928) gives the same story in a very brief form. The accumulation of new materials, both Hindu and Muslim, now demands the compilation of a more authentic account of the subject. Dr. Venkataramanyya, a South Indian scholar specially competent to deal with this important aspect of South Indian history, is to be congratulated on the production of an excellent monograph dealing with the expansion of the Turkish empire beyond the Vindhyas. He has made excellent use of 'Isami's *Futuh-us-Salatin*, a particularly valuable source-book for the period, and he has also paid proper attention to epigraphic materials, specially to the copper-plate charters of the Musunuri Chiefs and the Reddi Kings of Kondavidu and Rajamundry brought to light in recent years. Perhaps he has on some occasions paid less attention to Barani than that contemporary chronicler deserves; this is probably due to his emphasis on 'Isami's evidence. It is also somewhat surprising to note that the author has relied on the translations of Elliot and Dowson, Briggs, Ranking and others. He has quoted extensively, and sometimes unnecessarily, from 'Isami's text, but he has seldom referred to the *texts*, of Barani, Nizam-ud-din, Badauni and Ferishta. But he has given us a fairly full, accurate and readable narrative, which begins with a brief account of the inter-state relations in South India on the eve of Alauddin Khaliji's invasion of Devagiri, and concludes with the disintegration of the Turkish Empire in the Deccan towards the close of Muhammad Tughluq's reign. The story of the campaigns would have become far more interesting and intelligible if the author had cared to add illustrative maps. It is to be regretted that he has not given us a bibliography.

A. C. Banerjee

ARAB GEOGRAPHERS' KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTH INDIA by S. Muhammud Husain Nainar. University of Madras. 1942. 241 pp.

Dr. Nainar has, for sometime past, been doing useful work on South Indian history, specially on its Muhammedan period. The present volume, which embodies his doctorate dissertation, relates to the earliest evidences

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of Muslim contact with South India. From the 9th to the 13th century, when the Arabs monopolised the entire maritime commerce of the Indian Ocean, South India came closer to Arabia than at any other period in her history. They naturally came to possess a first-hand knowledge of the country which was later transmitted to Europe and formed the starting point of geographical discoveries in the East. In the extant Arabic works, however, instead of an accurate description, we find, in the main a mass of disjointed information, bearing on the itinerary, manners and products of what is called 'Hind and Sind'. On closer examination as has been done by the author of the book under review, this assorted material reveals the existence of not more than two or three original sources whom all the other writers quote verbatim. Even these independent sources are not what we would call scientifically written treatise. They are mostly compilations of travellers' 'accounts, or, as Dr. Nainar calls them, a kind of Arabian nights only rarely supplemented by accurate personal observation.' By a critical analysis of the earliest work on this subject, the *Silsilat-al twārīkh*, the author has shown that it is neither the work of a single person, nor is it the composition of the merchant Sulayman to whom it is generally ascribed. It is a mere collection of reports of voyages and travels, gathered from different sources and perhaps at different times. From *Ibn Khurdadbeh* to Abul Feda, not a single writer cared to enquire into the accuracy, for example of the account of 'Ballhera' of Mankir. Masudi travelled extensively, and yet his *Murūj-al-Zahab*, so far as India is concerned is only an enlarged edition of Sulayman's; Idrisi set out to write a scientific geography of the world under royal patronage, but had nothing new to say of India. These only prove, by contrast, the originality and greatness of Al-Beruni, but his personal observations were confined to North India.

Imperfect though they are, no student of history can afford to ignore the Arab accounts, and Dr. Nainar has rendered a distinct service by presenting them in the form of a tabulated summary. It makes it easy for students to check up references and correct misconceptions and also supplies interesting information. Such for example, is the reference to the Muslims who lived happily under the Ballhera and enjoyed the right of being ruled by their own officers and judged by their own laws (p. 103). 'In the countries of Hind and Sind' we are told by Idrisi, 'there are Muslims who bury their dead secretly by night (p. 108)'. In a report ascribed

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to Sulaymān but referring most probably to an earlier period, (p. 108) mention is made of Islām not having made a single convert in India and of these not being a single person who could speak Arabic. It would be interesting to compare the account of Hindu religious sects with that given by Al Bīrūnī and Marvazī. The author has subjected the material to a thorough examination and pruning, and has divided what is left of original matter into four sections: places, customs, kings and products, grouping under subjects each item of information recorded by successive writers. Extensive notes and comments have been added by way of examining the accuracy of the statements, and in doing this the author has laid under contribution all the latest works on South India. Places and kings whose identification is doubtful have been put in separate sections; among such doubtful names is the term '*Saluqiyyūn*' (p. 171) whose phonetic resemblance to Cālukya is too close to escape notice. One is struck by the tremendous amount of labour involved in the preparation of the work which must be welcomed as affording valuable help both to elucidating South Indian history and to studying Arabic geographical literature.

A. B. M. Habibullah

KEŚAVA PAṆḌITA'S DAṆḌANĪTIPRAKARAṆAM, edited by V. Ś. Bendrey; published by the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, 1943. Pages 76+64.

The volume under review is said to be actually an Appendix to Mr. Bendrey's work entitled *Indian Criminal Jurisprudence in Ancient and Historic Times* which is yet to be published. The value of the little book would no doubt have been enhanced if it was published along with a dissertation of that nature. But Keśava's *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa* is itself of considerable interest as it is a fairly satisfactory compilation of the views of a large number of authorities on criminal law in ancient India and as it was apparently one of the standard works consulted throughout the Śivā-jāhī period of the history of Mahārāṣṭra.

Keśava Bhaṭa, author of the *Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇa*, appears to have gained the favour of Śivājī about the time of the Rājāpur assembly of learned Pandits held in 1664 and to have lived thereafter at Rāygarh in the service of the Maratha king. He visited Benares sometime before 1674 in order

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to secure sanction of the Benares Paṇḍits, especially of Gāgā Bhaṭa, to the coronation of Śivajī. During the reign of Śaṃbhājī (1680-89) Keśava was made Paṇḍita-rāya and was entrusted with the duties of Dānādhyakṣa. He also served Rājārāma, successor of Śambhājī, and composed a work entitled *Rājārāmacarīta* in 1690. Keśava died probably in 1719. The *Daṇḍanīti-prakaraṇa* is said to be a part of his bigger work called *Nītimañjarī* which was probably embodied in the *Budhabhūṣaṇa* by king Śaṃbhājī. The *Nītimañjarī* is further said to form a part of Keśava's still greater compilation entitled *Dharmakalpalatā*. The author however appears to have completed the compilation only of the Daṇḍanīti section of his work.

Mr. Bendrey's introduction gives a fairly complete account of the MS. material of the work and of its author. The editor has tried to show that the *Parabhūkathā* or *Parabhūkāyasthānāṃ Kulācāranirṇayaḥ* is a spurious work and is not actually composed by Keśava Bhaṭa. There is an interesting appendix on the Paṇḍitarāya Raghunātha. The short dissertation on the history of Mahārāṣṭra of the Śivashāhī period from the political, economic, social and religious points of view is interesting.

Keśava's work deals with *daṇḍanirūpaṇa, caurya, pāradārya, vākpāruṣya, daṇḍapāruṣya* and *kevalasāhasa*. It is a compilation of verses from some fifty authorities on the criminal law of Hindu India. It is possible however that many of the citations were taken from quotations in recognised older works. Sometimes, at the assemblies of Paṇḍits held for deciding disputes, authoritative works are known to have been carried for reference, and a document entitled the *Śyenavī-jāti-nirṇaya* made at an assembly attended by Keśava himself gives a long list of such authorities. It is interesting to note that many works of this list, e.g. the *Bṛhatkathā*, were apparently not extant in the 17th century (cf. अष्टादशपुराणानि पल्लवानि च सर्वशः । संहिताश्चापि विविधाश्चित्राश्चीं च बृहत्कथाम् ॥ Introd., p. 17).

Keśava Bhaṭa has laboured hard to make his compilation as comprehensive and complete as the materials at his disposal permitted. Sometimes however the lines are not quoted as they are found in the original. Cf.

> प्रजापालनं च केभ्यः कार्यमित्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः—
> चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ॥
> अयुक्तिकेभ्यश्चोरेभ्यः (आयुक्तकेभ्य० ?) परेभ्यो राजवल्लभात् ॥
> पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥

Here *cāta°* etc. and *pīḍya°* etc. are found to make verse 336 of the

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Yājñavalkyasaṃhitā, Ācārādhyāya. The *Vahni Purāṇa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadrumapariśiṣṭa* has

चाटचारणचौरेभ्यो वधबन्धभयादिभिः ।
पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत् कायस्थेभ्यो विशेषतः ॥

The editor would have done well if he could try to trace, as far as practicable, the lines quoted by Keśava to the originals or to earlier works.

We recommend the volume under review to all students of the criminal law of Hindu India.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. VII, pt. 2 (May, 1943)

P. K. GODE.—*The Commentary of Caturbhuja Miśra of Kāmpilya on the Amaruśataka and its Chronology.* An analysis of some data contained in the mss. of Caturbhuja Miśra's *Bhāvacintāmaṇi*, a commentary on the *Amaruśataka* shows that Caturbhuja composed his work between 1250 and 1600 A.C. and was a resident of Kāmpilya which, as is suggested in this note, may be identified with Kampil 28 miles north-east of Fattegad in the Farakkabad district of the United Provinces.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*The Dharmatattva-kalānidhi of Mahārāja Pṛthvīcandra.* The *Dharmatattvakalānidhi* is a voluminous work on Dharmaśāstra in ten prakāśas or sections by Pṛthvīcandra, a ruler of a certain region not yet identified. The mss. of the three Prakāśas on Vyavahāra, Vrata and Samaya bear dates pointing to the latter half of the 15th century A.C.

A. N. KRISHNA AIYANGAR.—*Inscriptions of Uttaramerūr.* The three Tamil inscriptions published here record grants made by three different persons for the maintenance of perpetual lamps in temples. They belong to the time of Rājarāja the Great of the Imperial Colas of the Vijayālaya line.

H. G. NARAHARI.—*Viśeṣāmṛta of Tryambakamiśra.* This small orthographical lexicon giving different forms of the same word has been edited.

THE FOLLOWING SERIAL PUBLICATIONS APPEAR IN THIS ISSUE:

ऋग्वेदव्याख्या — माधवकृता. Edited.

Nyāyakusamāñjali of Udayana. Translated into English.

Gopālatāpanyupaniṣad. Translated into English.

होराशास्त्रम्—सटीकम्—वराहमिहिरकृतम्. Edited.

सङ्गीतरत्नाकरः—चतुरकल्लिनाथकृतया सिंहभूपालकृतया च टीकया समेतः. Edited.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XVIII, (1942)

H. D. VELENKAR.—*The Family-hymns in the Family-Maṇḍalas.* The discussion shows that in the Family-Maṇḍalas (II-VII) of the *Ṛgveda* there are hymns which may properly be described as family hymns, because

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the poets there refer to some unusual exploits of the earlier ancestors and glorify their own families.

A. D. PUSALKAR.—*Yajñaphalam: A Newly Discovered Drama by Bhāsa.* The *Yajñaphala*, a drama dealing with some of the events of Rāma's life prior to his marriage has recently been published by Rajavaidya Rajaram Kalidasa Sastri who ascribed the authorship of the work to Bhāsa. The present paper supports Bhāsa's authorship of the drama.

A. P. KARMARKAR.—*The Puruṣasūkta (Ṛgveda X, 90) and the Mystic Glorification of the Human Victim.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. XXII, pt. 1 (April, 1943)

BAIJ NATH PURI.—*The State of Brahmanism in the Kuṣāṇa Period.* In opposition to the opinion that the Brahmanical religion was disintegrated during the alien rule of the Kuṣāṇas and was revived later by the Guptas, the writer of the paper argues that the Kuṣāṇas in fact earnestly supported Brahmanism by performing sacrificial rites, paying handsome donations to the Brāhmaṇas, and creating endowments for their use, as the epigraphic records of the period show.

S TIRUVENKATACHARI.—*The Trivikrama Avatāra in Mahābalipuram.* That Mahābalipuram had a temple of the Trivikrama Avatāra of Viṣṇu is even now traceable. Much importance was attached to this deity by the Pallava rulers.

SYED MOINUL HAQ.—*Was Sultan Khusrau Murdered?* Arguments are put forward against the evidence which makes Shahjahan guilty of murder of his elder brother Khusrau.

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,
vol. IV. pt. 2 (December, 1942)

J. C. WALSH.—*A Comparative Study of the Patraha (Purnea) Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins.*

S. ALTEKAR.—*Further New Coins from Kauśāmbī.* Names of nine new kings ruling between the 2nd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.C. at Kauśāmbī had already been known from various coins belonging to the collection of Rai Braj Mohan Vyas Bahadur of Allahabad. A further classification of some more coins from the same collection confirms the accuracy of the names of those rulers and reveals six more names of the rulers of Kauśāmbī hitherto unknown.

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters), vol. IX, 1943, no. 1

F. A. PETER.—*The 'Rin-Hbyuñ'*. This is an introduction to an unpublished Tibetan iconographical work 'giving a comprehensive picture of the Lamaistic pantheon from its serene Buddhas to its raving devils'.

O. R. BARON EHRENFELS.—*Traces of a Matriarchal Civilization among the Kolli Malaiyāllis.*

D. H. AND M. E. GORDON.—*The Cultures of Maski and Madhavpur.* Maski is in the Lingsugur Taluka of the Raichur District of Hyderabad State and Madhavpur is on the southern outskirts of Belgaum. An attempt has been made by the authors of the paper to gather the 'stratigraphic evidence of culture sequence' as can be known from the various objects unearthed from the different layers in those sites excavated some time ago. In conclusion, Maski is dated "between the 5th century B.C. and the 2nd century A.C., and Madhavpur between the 4th century B.C. and some date in the early centuries of the Christian era."

VERRIER ELWIN.—*Conception, Pregnancy and Birth among the Tribesmen of the Maikal Hills.*

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF.—*Megalithic Ritual among the Gadabas and Bondos of Orissa.*

R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*The King Candra of the Meharaulī Iron Pillar Inscription.* A suggestion is made here that, king Candra mentioned in the Meharaulī Pillar Inscription as having conquered the Vahlīkas beyond the Indus might well be identified with Kaniṣka who had adopted, as is known from a Khōtanese manuscript, the Indian name Candra, and who had at the same time ruled over Vahlīka.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XI, pt. 4 (January, 1943)

B. A. SALETORE.—*Queen Balla Mahādevī.* The epigraphic records show that Balla Mahādevī, the queen of the Āḷupa ruler Vīra Pāṇḍyadeva Āḷupendradeva I took up, on the death of her husband in 1277 A.C., the administration of the Tuḷuva kingdom in her own name. With her capital at Bārahakanyāpura (Bārakūru) she ruled her subjects for about 15 years very successfully in close co-operation with her ministers, holding open *darbars* and consulting representative citizens in matters affecting them. Her reign lasted till 1292 A.C. when her son Nāgadevarasa became king.

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G. M. Moraes.—*The Maratha-Portuguese War of 1683-84.*

New Indian Antiquary, vol. V, no. 12 (March, 1943)

K. Geda Varma.—*Different Authorship of the Kārikā-grantha and the Vṛtti grantha of Dhvanyāloka.* Evidence is adduced in support of the opinion that the author of the Kārikā portion of the *Dhvanyāloka* is different from Ānandavardhana who is known to be the author of the Vṛtti portion of the work.

Ibid., vol. VI, no. 1 (April, 1943)

C. Kunhan Raja.—*Praśnamālā of Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa.* The *Praśnamālā* found among the manuscripts in the Fort at Bikaner deals with a few problems about the text of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa.* The importance of the work lies in the unique nature of the questions discussed and the critical line of thinking adopted by the author Kṛṣṇa alias Hosiṅga who lived in the court of Maharāja Karansinghji of Bikaner in the 17th century. The work as discovered is not complete and the questions raised in it altogether nine in number pertain to the first three cantos of the *Raghuvaṃśa.*

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. XVIII, no. III, (October, 1942)

Angelo Moses.—*The Cārvāka Theory of Knowledge.* Perception by the senses (pratyakṣa) is, according to the Cārvākas, the only source of true knowledge. The reasons why they do not accept inference as a *pramāṇa* or source of trustworthy knowledge are discussed in the paper. The Cārvākas have postulated four elements, earth, air, fire and water as the sole reality, from which intelligence is produced. They affirm that the soul is not different from the body and that the phenomena of the world are spontaneously produced without the help of any agent.

Ibid., vol. XVIII, no. 4 (January, 1943)

G. R. Malkani.—*A Justification of Māyāvāda.*

Poona Orientalist, vol. VII, nos. 3-4 (October, 1942-January, 1943)

S. S. Suryanarayan Sastri.—*Śaṅkara and the Schools of Vedānta.* Doctrinal differences that have developed among the followers of Śaṅkara have been discussed in the paper. The *Bhāmatī* and the *Vivaraṇa* school differ as to the correct view of Śaṅkara in regard to various issues, some of which are of major importance. The statements of Śaṅkara have given rise to a controversy regarding the plurality of Jīvas and the locus

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of nescience. The author of the *Saṅkṣepaśarīraka* and Appayya Dīkṣita are not in agreement as to the meaning of those statements. The *Sutra bhāṣya* and the *Upaniṣad-bhāṣyas* of the master himself contain conflicting views in them. It is quite plausible, therefore, concludes the writer of this paper, that Śaṅkara 'wrote or dictated whatever came uppermost in his mind at the moment caring little for consistency with what he had said at other times, so long as consistency was maintained with the final position' (non-dualism).

S. K. De.—*The Sanskrit Prahasana.* Several Prahasanas or farcical plays in Sanskrit both in print and in manuscript have been described here showing that though at times lively they 'suffer as a whole from poverty of invention and lack of taste.'

P. K. Gode.—*Kavikaustubha, an unknown Work on Poetics by Raghunātha Manohara and its Chronology—between A.D. 1675 and 1700*

R. Shamasastry.—*The Ṛbhus and the Four Soma-cups.* The Ṛbhu-sūkta of the *Ṛgveda* (I. 161) has been interpreted in the light of the writer's interesting assertions that many of the stories and statements in the Vedas and Purāṇas have reference to various astronomical phenomena. The Camasa cup which is mentioned in the Ṛbhu-sūkta as turning into four is nothing but the celestial sphere or circle divided into four parts each corresponding to three months.

G. B. Devasthali.—*The Authorship of the Siddhāntamuktāvalī-prakāśa and the Upper Limit for the Date of Gaṅgārāma Jaḍin.* The *Prakāśa* is a commentary on the *Nyāyasiddhānta-muktāvalī* of Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana. It is surmised that Mahādeva, son of Bālakṛṣṇa, wrote the commentary upto the end of discussion on Pratyakṣa in collaboration with Dinakara, probably his own son who alone is responsible for the rest of the work. Gaṅgārāma Jaḍin who has written a gloss on the *Prakāśa* is the son of the daughter of Dinakara and the great-great-grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of the *Mayūkhas.* His literary activities ranged approximately between 1715 and 1750 A. C.

Vasudeva S. Agrawala.—*Sumanottarā.* The *Sumanottarā* is the name of a Sanskrit romance (ākhyāyikā) quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Those who were specially versed in the romance have been called by Patañjali Saumanottarikas. The story of Sumana, a merchant of Rājagṛha and his pious wife Uttarā as given in Buddhist literature had probably formed the theme of the *Sumanottarā.*

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Puruṣottamadeva's Commentary on the Mahābhāṣya

About 20 years ago we published a rare reference to a long-lost commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* by Puruṣottamadeva, the celebrated grammarian of the Bengal school of Pāṇini.[1] The work remains yet to be discovered, but we are able now to publish one or two fragments from it. It appears that a small literature grew up round this work of Puruṣottama and we give below an account of the few interesting works that have so far been discovered, though only in fragments.

(1) A commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* has written by one Śaṅkara. A single page of this work, and fortunately the first page, was recently discovered by us in a private library at Navadvīpa.[2] The whole of it is published below:

ओँ नमो महादेवाय ॥ ओँ नमः परदेवतायै ॥ ० ॥ अथ महाभाष्यं लिख्यते ॥

यस्त्यक्त्वा रूपमाद्यं प्रभवति जगतोऽनेकधानुग्रहाय
प्रक्षीणक्लेशराशिर्व्विषमविषधरोऽनेकवक्त्रः सुभोगी ।
सर्व्वज्ञानप्रसूतिर्भुजगपरिकरः प्रोतये यस्य नित्यं
देवोऽहीशः स वोऽव्यात् सितविमलतनुर्योगदो योगयुक्तः ॥[3]
फणिभाष्येऽत्र दुर्गत्वं कज्जटेन प्रकाशितं ।
श्रुतपालस्य राद्धान्तः कुण्डली(ल्यां) कुण्डलायते ॥

1 Pāṇinian Studies in Bengal: *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee*, vol. III. (Orientalia), Pt. I, p. 204.

2 Collection of Sanskrit Mss. belonging to the late Pandit Tārāprasanna Cūḍāmaṇi. There are several rare works in this collection.

3 This beautiful benedictory stanza is found in some Mss. of the *Yogabhāṣya* and even commented on by Vijñānabhikṣu. It cannot certainly belong to the *Bhāṣya* and is, moreover, omitted by Vācaspati Miśra. On the strength of the present work Śaṅkara becomes the real author of this verse, which bears the stamp of a consummate scholar of the early medieval age.

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त्रिकमेतत् समाख्यानं माहेश्वरनियोजनं ।
शङ्करस्तु सुदुर्बुद्धिः सागरं तर्त्तुमिच्छति ॥

तथापि, सद्वज्रसमुत्कीर्णभाष्यमणौ वास्पछेद्यजरन्मृणालतन्तुगतागतसहोदरोस्तु शङ्करस्य बुद्धिवानि(ऽणि)ज्यमिति ॥

समा(ख्यात)श्च पुरुषोत्तमदेवः परिसमाप्तसकलक्रियाकलापः कुण्डलीव्याख्याने बद्धपरिकरः प्रतिजानीते ॥

कुण्डलीसप्तके येऽर्था दुर्बोध्या फणिभाषिताः ।
ते सर्व्वे प्रतिपाद्यन्ते साधुशब्देन भाषया ।
यदि दुष्प्रयोगशाली स्यां फणिभक्ष्यो भवाम्यहं ॥

अथ भाष्यवृत्तिं व्याचिख्यासुर्देवो विघ्ननाशाय सदाचारपरिप्राप्तम् इष्टदेवतानतिस्वरूपं मङ्गलमाचचार । तत्पद्यं यथा ॥

नमो बुधाय बुद्धाय यथात्रिमुनिलक्षणं ।
विधीयते प्राणपणा भाषायां लघुवृत्तिका ॥ इति देव...

Śaṅkara apparently based his work on three previous scholiasts on the *Mahābhāṣya* viz. Kajjaṭa, Śrutapāla and Puruṣottamadeva. The famous author of the *Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpa*, it should be noted, is regularly and consistently referred to in all Bengal works as Kajjaṭa and not Kaiyaṭa. Śrutapāla preceded Puruṣottama, who cited him both in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (p. 543) and the *Lalitaparibhāṣā*;[4] he is hardly known elsewhere in India. In the above extract two introductory verses of Puruṣottama's commentary have been preserved. It was curiously called prāṇapaṇā (life-staking), as the author consciously exposed himself to an attack from the lord of snakes, the traditional compiler of the *Mahābhāṣya*, in case of misinterpretation!! One of the verses is a clear adaptation of the introductory verse of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*.

(2) Śaṅkara was himself an ancient author, as his work was commented on by one Maṇikaṇṭha, who described him as an incarnation of Mahādeva. Two folia of this work were discovered by us long ago in the Mss. collection of the V. R. Museum at Rajshahi. These are now published with advantage along with the original text.

4 "कामंस्ताच्छील्ये" (Pāṇ. VI. 4. 172) इत्यत्र श्रुतपालेन ज्ञापितो ह्ययमर्थः । (V. R. S. Ms. No. 630, fol. 32ᵃ.). निर्देशे "अङ्गवृत्तेरि"ति हेतुपद्यमन्तं श्रुतपालेन व्याख्यातं (*ib.* fol. 35ᵃ). Śrutapāla is also cited in the कातन्त्रवृत्तिटीका of दुर्गसिंह (कृत ; 68), and in the अमोघवृत्ति of अभिनव-शाकटायन under IV. 1. 252-3.

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ओँ नमो गणेशाय ॥

वेदवेदान्तमीमांसान्यायपातञ्जलाङ्कवित्
सांख्यवैशेषिकज्ञाता धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थतत्ववित् ।
इति बालिशवृद्धैश्च भाष्यसिन्धोस्तरण्डकं ।
तनोमि मणिकण्ठोहं नुतो(×)नुदितो गुणैः ॥
शेषं प्रणम्य धवलं शिवं वृद्धं सनातनं ।
कड्डते मणिकण्ठश्च शितिकण्ठप्रसादतः ॥

इहखलु संसारे अल्पायुरल्पभाग्याऽविद्याजडीकृतसकलकरणालसतया निवर्त्तितवेदाभ्यासयागादिधर्म्मानवलोक्य श्रीदेवव्याख्यातप्राणपणितभाष्यग्रन्थस्य दुर्बोधस्य सुप्रकाशाय श्रीमहादेवः शङ्करनामकब्राह्मणरूपेणावतीर्य्य तत्तद्व्याचिख्यासुः सुहृद्भिक्षुकादिपालकं स्वदेशीयं राजानमाशास्ते देवगुणकथनेन च मङ्गलमाचरति—यस्यक्लेत्यादि । यः स इत्यनेन अभेदार्थनिरूपणेन सच्चित्त्वमसीतिवत् सगुणनिर्गुणमात्रभेदं व्याचष्टे । यः स यस्य अव्याद्व इत्यादिना च परोक्षापरोक्षसम्बन्धक्रियाकर्म्मादि सकलमेव । भाष्यकर्त्ता शिवावतारस्तद्भाषितत्वे फणिभाष्यमिति ।

निरुक्तिश्च, प्रतिभानं भवेद्यस्मात् स्यति पापसमुच्चयं ।
फणिना भाषितन्त्वेवं फणिभाष्यं निगद्यत इति ।

श्लोकार्थश्च, सोऽहीशोनन्तो वो युष्मानव्यात् रक्षतु । स कः, य आद्यं रूपं ब्रह्म चतुर्भुजं वा क्लृप्ता प्रभवति प्रभुरिवाचरति । किमर्थं, जगतोऽनेकधानुग्रहाय पृथ्वीधारणात् । स किम्भूतः, प्रक्षीणक्लेशराशिरिति प्रकर्षेण क्षीणा नष्टाः क्लेशराशयो यस्य स तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः, विषमविषधर इति विषममुपायासाध्यं विषं धरति तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः, अनेकवक्त्र इति अनेकानि वक्त्राणि मुखानि यस्य, स तथा । 'मूर्द्धन्यर्पितमणुवत् सहस्रमूर्द्धा भूगोलं सगिरिसरित्समुद्रमिति वाक्यैकवाक्यतया सहस्रमुखः प्राप्तः । यद्वा, 'सर्व्वतः पाणिपादान्तः सर्व्वतोक्षिशिरोमुखम्' इत्यभिप्रायेण । पुनः किम्भूतः, सुभोगः शोभनो भोगः फणा यस्य तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः सर्व्वज्ञानप्रसूतिः । सर्व्वेषां ज्ञानानां प्रसूतिरुत्पत्तिर्यस्मात् स तथा । यस्य च प्रीतये प्रीतिनिमित्तं भुजगानां परिकरः परिवारः सर्व्वदास्तीत्यध्याहारः । पुनः किम्भूतः सितविमलत(2ª)नुरिति सिताश्च विमला निर्म्मला तनुर्यस्य स तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः, योगदः योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधस्तं ददातीति तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः, योगयुक्तः योगेन युक्तस्तथा । आत्मारम्भेण पररञ्जनं भवेदिति लोकसिद्धेः । अथवा, स सितविमलतनुर्देवो महादेवः वो युष्मानव्यादित्यन्वयः । स कः, यस्य शिवस्य प्रीतये सोऽहीशोऽनन्तो नित्यमस्ति । सोऽहीशः कः, यस्यक्लेत्यादि सर्व्वं योजनीयं । महादेवः किम्भूतः योगदः । पुनः किम्भूतः, योगयुक्तः अयं योगी । यद्यत्शीर्षण्यार्चरितं तत्तदेवानुवर्त्तते लोक इति नयात् ।

दुर्गत्वे सति शिष्टकृतवर्त्मनि प्रवर्त्तनं निःशङ्कमिति प्रतिपादयितुमाह फणिभाष्येत्र दुर्गात्वमित्यादि । कुण्डल्यामेव कुण्डलायते भूषणायते नान्यत्रेति तात्पर्यं । एतदुक्तं भवति —अस्य ग्रन्थस्य सम्यक् तात्पर्यं केनापि न प्रतिपन्नं किन्तु केनचित् किञ्चिदित्येवं ममापि निर्दोष उद्यमः । दुर्गत्वमिति दुर्ज्ञेयत्वमित्यर्थः । दुःखेन गम्यते ज्ञायतेऽदः इति कर्मणि

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ङप्रत्ययः। ननु अत्र भावप्रत्ययेन साध्यसाधनसम्बन्ध उक्तस्तथा च कज्जटेन ततसम्बन्धकथने किं साहाय्यमिति चेन्न, दुर्ग यत् प्रमेयं तदेव दुर्गत्वं स्वार्थे त्वप्रत्ययोऽत्र। तस्य भावस्त्वतलावित्यत्र स्वार्थेपि भाव आश्रीयते। ननु भावः सत्ता महाविषया सैव परं सामान्यमनुवृत्तिहेतुत्वात्, तद्व्याप्यमपरं सामान्यं तच्च गोत्वादि व्यावृत्तिहेतुत्वात् तत अपरं सामान्यमित्युच्यते। तत्र च सत्ता व्यापकजातिस्तद्वाच्ये त्वतलौ विहिताविति चेन्न, तथात्वे गवि गोत्वमित्युक्ते घटादिसत्ताप्रतीतिः स्यात् सत्तायाः एकरूपत्वात्। ननु तदा प्रकृतिप्रत्यासत्तिगतानुगतिकत्वं प्रत्ययानां यथा, पक्केति तृचा पचनकर्तृत्वबोधः न तु क्रियान्तरकर्तृत्वबोधः इति चेन्न; तत्रानेकत्वसद्भावात्। ननु तदा सत्तायामपि अनेकत्वं सम्बन्धिभेदात् यथा,

सम्बन्धिभेदात् सत्तैव भिद्यमाना गवादिषु।
जातिरित्युच्यते सोऽर्थो जातिशब्दे पृथक् पृथक्॥

इत्यादि कारकविवेके लिखनात्[5] इति चेद्दाढं, किन्तु तथात्वे गवयसत्ताप्रतीतिरबाधिता स्यात् गवयसत्ता हि प्रकृतिप्रत्यासन्ना सादृश्यात्। तस्मात्, भवतोऽस्मादभिधानप्रत्ययाविति भाव इति भाग्यार्याचार्यलक्षणं शरणं। अस्यार्थः, यस्मात् पदार्थाद्धेतोर्घटादिषु विशेष्येषु घटादिशब्दा अभिधीयन्ते वक्तृभिः श्रोतृभिश्च घटाद्याकारानुगतज्ञानमबाधितं प्राप्यते स पदार्थो भावः। स च स्वार्थद्रव्यलिङ्गसंख्याकर्माद्यात्मकः पञ्चकः प्रातिपदिकार्थः इत्यस्यादिभूतः स्वार्थ इत्युच्यते। स्वार्थ इति विशेषणस्य नामान्तरं, द्रव्यमिति विशेष्यस्य नामान्तरं, तेन विशेष्ये कम्बुग्रीवादिमदादौ घटादिशब्दानां या प्रवृत्तिः प्रवर्त्तनं तस्या निमित्तं यत् स भाव इत्यर्थः। ननु तदा गङ्गाघोषादौ गङ्गात्वं तीरस्य, प्रतीतेरनिमित्तत्वात्तद्व्याहतं। मा, अत्र गङ्गैव तीरप्रतीतौ गङ्गापदस्य प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं न तु गङ्गात्वं व्यवहितत्त्वात्। तथा चोक्तं,

लक्ष्ये व्यङ्ग्येऽथ तथा वाच्ये यत्तु स्यात् परिचायकं।
भेदकं तद्विजानीयात् प्रवृत्तेः कारणं स्मृतं॥

तेन जातिशब्दे जातिः प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं घटत्वादि। द्रव्यसमानाधिकरणगुणे शुक्लत्वं शुक्लो गुणः वैयधिकरण्ये तु शुक्लत्वं जातिरेव। कुन्तविशिष्टपुरुषे यदा लक्षणया कुन्तशब्दस्तदा कुन्तत्वं द्रव्यमेव प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं, अन्यथा कुन्तत्वं जातिरेव। पाकः पचनमित्यत्र क्रिया प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं। समासकृत्तद्धितेषु सम्बन्धः प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं। यथा, राजपुरुषत्वं राज्ञा सह पुरुषस्य स्वस्वामिकसम्बन्धः। पाचकत्वमिति पचिक्रियया तत्कर्त्तुः साध्यसाधनभावसम्बन्धः। गार्ग्यत्वमिति गर्गेण सह अपत्यापत्यसद्भावसम्बन्धः पौत्रस्य। तथा चोक्तं, "समासकृत्तद्धितेषु सम्बन्धाभिधानमन्यत्र रूढ्यभिन्नरूपाव्यभिचरितसम्बन्धेभ्य" इति। रूढौ कुम्भकारतन्त्रवायप्रभृतीनां जातिरेव प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं अभिन्नरूपे पीलुवृक्षः पीलु फलं। अनयोर्वृक्षत्वफलत्वं.....

(Preserved with V. R. S. Ms. No. 649)

This is a fine specimen of the dialectic style of a medieval scholar, which is highly discursive, yet free from the phraseology of the *Navya-nyāya*

5 This seems to be a different work from Puruṣottamadeva's *Kārakacakra*, where the last line of the *kārikā* reads as, जातिरित्युच्यते तस्यां सर्वे शब्दाः व्यवस्थिताः। (fol. 1).

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school of Navadvīpa. Maṇikaṇṭha was a pure grammarian and must be different from the logician Maṇikaṇṭha Miśra, who belonged to Mithilā and preceded Gaṅgeśa. He may or may not be identical with Maṇikaṇṭha Bhaṭṭācārya, son of Gaṇeśa, a small tract of whom named Kārakakhaṇḍanamaṇḍana exists in Ms.[6] Even in the small fragment printed above Maṇikaṇṭha has preserved for us the name of an ancient scholar *Bhārgyācāryya,* whose definition of the grammatical term 'bhāva' has been cited and explained by him. Maṇikaṇṭha definitely states that Śaṅkara wanted to publish and elucidate the difficult work *Mahābhāṣya* as *explained by Puruṣottamadeva at the risk of his life.* It should be noted that both Śaṅkara and Maṇikaṇṭha refers to Puruṣottama as 'Deva' or 'Śrīdeva,' implying that 'Deva' was probably the family title of the great author.

(3) A fairly large book (fol. 95 *plus* 7) called भाष्यव्याख्याप्रपञ्च is lying for a long time in the V. R. Museum at Rajshahi unnoticed by scholars. This appears now to be a highly discursive commentary on Puruṣottama's lost work on the *Mahābhāṣya,* but the original from which it was copied was hopelessly mutilated.[7] The curious ending and colophon of the book is reproduced below:

अत्रैव लालामयितः फणीन्द्रो गणेन्द्रविस्मापनमत्र केवलं ।
न विद्यते तत्र महाशने भ्रमो मूर्ध्नि स्थितं यस्य चराचरं जगत् ॥
अनिरूपणीये ब्रह्मणि निरूपणार्थं प्रवृत्तस्य पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्याल कैवल्यप्राप्तिः ।

ब्रह्मवेशधरः सर्पः कौतुकार्थी गतः सदं ।
कोभवानिति संपृष्टः सप्पोहमिति सम्वदन् ॥
रेफः कुत्र तदा पृष्टे व्यत्ययो बहुलं श्रितः ।
छन्दस्येवेति तत् पृष्टे छन्दःकर्त्ता भवानिति ॥

इति फणीन्द्रप्रणीत-महाभाष्यार्थदुरूहतात्पर्यव्याख्यानप्रवृत्त-श्रीमद्देवप्राणपणित-व्याख्याप्रपञ्चे अष्टाध्यायीगतार्थबोधक(:) प्रथमः पादः समाप्तः । श्रीशिवरुद्रशर्मणः स्वाक्षरश्च शकाब्दाः १७२ ॥ शाके पक्षनभोद्विचन्द्रगणिते वारे शनावाश्विने, भाष्यग्रन्थनितान्तदुर्गविपिनप्रोद्दाग्रदन्तावलः । ग्रन्थोयं पुरुषोत्तमेन रचितो व्यालेखि यत्नान्मया, नत्वा श्रीपरदेवताङ्घ्रिकमलं सर्वार्थसिद्धिप्रदं ॥ (fol. 95[a])

6 Stein's *Jammu Cat. of Mss.,* 1894, p. 136 (Ms. No. 1570).

7 V. R. S. Ms. No. 649. The scribe states on fol. 11b अत्र पत्रत्रयं नास्ति So in fol. 20b अत्रादर्शे पत्रत्रयाभावः, fol. 32b अत्रादर्शे पञ्चपत्राभावः, and in fol. 89a इतः सप्तपत्रं नास्ति । Moreover, fol. 94 is not in continuation of fol. 93 and there are stray leaves at the end in a different hand.

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Here also the original author Puruṣottama is referred to by his title as 'Śrīmaddeva'. As the first page of the book contains large lacunae the name of the commentator is lost. There are marginal notes in the copy and in fol. 6b the author is referred to in a note as 'Sanmiśraḥ', while a note in fol. 11a calls him 'Śrīmiśraḥ.' He was not apparently a recent author, as the present scribe in 1780 A.D. failed to secure a reliable copy of the book, which already became rare by that time. The book even in its mutilated state contains several extremely rare quotations from previous authors, some of which are as follows: न गुणो गुणसम्पन्नो ह्यरूपी रूपवान् विभुः। अविग्रहो विग्रहश्च शिवब्रह्मगुणाकरं। तेनेदं भाषितं पूर्वं फणिवक्त्रे निदर्शनं। गणेन्द्रः। छाया-तपविरोधोयं भावाभावो न विद्यते इति पद्यार्द्धं। After this introduction there are a few disconnected letters and words ending with निर्गुणब्रह्म अग्रे व्याख्यास्यामः। Then the following verse of the long lost commentator Śrutapāla is cited and explained:—

अवैव लालामयितः फणीन्द्रो, गणेन्द्रविस्मापनमल केवलं।
न विद्यते तव महाशने श्रमो भ्रमोर्मिमालां शिरसा विभर्त्त्यजः॥

इति श्रुतपालविवेचनं।

Then, abruptly, the introductory verse of Puruṣottama as cited by Śaṅkara above is thus explained:—

यथावदध्यवसायो बुद्धिः सा च साधकस्य देयत्वे यस्यास्ति स बुद्धो नारायणस्तस्मै नमो। विधीयते भाषायां लघुवृत्तिका इत्यनुषङ्गः, बुधायेति विशेषणं। किं कृत्वा, यथात्रिमुनि त्रीन् मुनीननतिक्रम्य। नमः किंविशिष्टं लक्षणं लक्ष्यतेऽभीष्टं येन तथा। .....अथ मङ्गल-विचारः। यथा श्रुतिः, प्रणिपत्य सच्चिदानन्दमसृजत। धर्मतश्चाभिमतं सिध्यति इति मैत्रेयवचनं। एतदर्थमेव मङ्गलत्रयमल। न च कुरुडलीव्याख्याने कृतबहुशोमङ्गलस्यापि पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य कथमसिद्धिरिति वाच्यं, अदृष्टसहकारेण मङ्गलं विघ्ननाशकं। उन्मत्त-परिखालङ्घने प्राक्तनानुमानमिति गौतमीयात्।.....बौद्धपरितोषाय बुद्धपदं.....त्रयाणां मुनीनां यानि लक्षणानि सूत्राणि तान्यनतिक्रम्येति प्राचीनाः। प्राण एव पणो यत्र सा तथा। अविज्ञाता च स्वल्पा च वेदाग्राह्यत्वाद्भाषायां पदं..... (fol. 2)

अथ एतत्ग्रन्थमवतारयामः। अथ शब्दानुशासनम्। वैदिकानां लौकिकानां च प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागपरिकल्पनया सामान्यविशेषवता च लक्षणेन गत्यन्तराभाव इति महेश्वर-प्रतिज्ञानं अ इ उण् इत्यादि डामरवं सूत्रं। अथशब्दो मङ्गलार्थः.....

(Fol. 5b: cf. *Bhāṣāvṛtti* p. 1)

On fol. 28a there is an interesting quotation followed by what seems to be a reference to an actual passage of Puruṣottama:—

यदुक्तं, एताहक् शिष्ट एवासौ लक्षणञ्चास्य वर्णितं।
कर्म्म चास्य न गृह्णीयाद्वचनं मन्यते सदा॥

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नानुमानं प्रमाणञ्चेत्युक्ता बौद्धो बहिर्भवन् ।
कथमित्युक्तमात्रे तु निम्ने लालायितः फणी ॥
द्वित्वापत्तौ समाकीर्णे चोद्यतो येन केनचित् ।
ईश्वरानुप्रबुद्धत्वाद्बौद्धो बुद्धेर्बहिर्गतः ॥

स्थगितः सञ्चितः । शब्दप्रणालीमाह—एतत्प्रयुक्तः शब्दः साधुशब्दः अस्य शब्दस्यान्वाख्यानमिदमिति ।

No other passages of Puruṣottama can be definitely traced in the book except the following line in fol. 94a:—

अथ गणपतिपाठार्थं महेश्वरप्रतिज्ञानमुपदिशति—वर्णानामुपदेश इति ।

All the above passages along with the curious ending of the book seem to suggest that the work of Puruṣottama did not extend beyond the first Pāda only of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

A short index of the topics dealt with in the book and a few extracts are given below.

Fol. 2^a मङ्गलविचारः, 3^b अनुषङ्गः, 4^a ऊहः, 7-10 प्रमाणपरीक्षा, 11^b उपाधिः, 14^b मुक्तिः, 14-21 सांख्यमतं, 27-37 शाब्दबोधः, 37^a व्याप्तिः, 38-55 कारकं, 55-68 प्रत्यक्षादिज्ञानविचारः, 68^a प्रातिपदिकार्थः, 70^b एकवाक्यताविचारः, 71-74 समासः, 75-8 अलंकाराः, 78-81 उपसर्गः, 81-88 कृत्तद्धितादिनिरुपणं, 88-93 शब्दार्थः ॥

कृतमङ्गलाः आशुच्याद्विमुच्यन्ते इत्यत्र कृतमङ्गलाः कृतगोभूहिरण्ययानत्युदकस्पर्शा इति हरिशर्म्मा । (3a)

पदशेषकारस्तु शब्दाध्याहारं शेषमिति वदति । (3b)

"ओँकारश्चाथशब्दश्च.....इति व्याडिलिखनात् । (5b f.n.)

अतएव व्याडि :—ज्ञानं द्विविधं सम्यगसम्यक् च । (7a)

तथा चानभिहितसूत्रे उक्तं (इन्दुमित्रेण) :—"एक एकक इत्याहुर्द्वावित्यन्ये त्रयोऽपरे ।
चतुष्कः पञ्चकश्चैव चतुष्के सूत्रमुच्यते ॥" (31b)

यत्पुनरिन्दुमित्रेणोक्तं 'न तिङन्तान्येकशेषं प्रयोजयन्ति.....तत्पूर्वपक्षमात्रं.....
अतएव प्राचीनवृत्तिटीकायां कज्झटमतानुसारिणा हरिमिश्रेणापि भाष्यवचनमनूद्य.....(36a)

समसनमेव हि सङ्केततवदिति मीमांसा । तेन समासस्य शक्तिः कल्प्यते तन्मतेन तु लक्षणादिरिति हरिशर्म्मलिखनात् वैयाकरणस्तन्मतमेवाद्रियते । (71b)

Puruṣottamadeva was a Bengali

All the three works described above have been discovered in Bengal and are absolutely unknown elsewhere in India, thus furnishing further corroboration to an inference drawn from a large number of internal and external evidences, stated below, that Puruṣottama belonged to Bengal.

(1) Sṛṣṭidhara, one of the Bengali commentators of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, states categorically that the book was written at the request of king Lakṣmaṇasena: वैदिकप्रयोगानर्थिनो राज्ञो लक्ष्मणसेनस्याज्ञया प्रकृते कर्मणि प्रसजन् वृत्तेर्लघुतायां

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हेतुमाह भाषायामिति (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*, Intro., p. 11). The following marginal note found on fol. 11a of the Ms. of the *Bhāṣyavyākhyāprapañca* described above substantially agrees with Sṛṣṭidhara, though the reason stated for Puruṣottama's omission of Vedic matter is slightly different here: —तथा च इयं लघुवृत्तिः माहेश्वरादिग्रन्थपरम्परया प्राप्तवैदिक-लौकिकपदसंस्कारकत्वे लक्ष्मणसेन(स्य) राज्ञो वैदिकपदस्यानर्हत्वात् वैदिकपदमुल्लंघ्य लौकिक-पदसंस्काराथं महामहोपाध्याय-श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवेन कृता। लौकिकमपि वाक्यं शिष्टप्रयुक्तं यदि भवति तदा तदेव प्रमाणमिति पूर्वमुक्तं श्रीमिश्रेण अतस्तत्संस्कारकत्वाल्लघुवृत्तिरपि तत्त्वज्ञानोपयोगिनी।

Lakṣmaṇasena was undoubtedly the most illustrious patron of learning in Bengal in that age and his political and literary activities begin from about 1140 A.D. in the reign of his grandfather.[8] His patronage thus covers the long period of 60 years (*c.* 1140-1200 A.D.), though he actually came to the throne at an advanced age within 1170-78 A.D. As we shall presently find Puruṣottama's date is not in conflict here. Sṛṣṭidhara was comparatively an early writer of about 1500 A.D.[9] and, though he blundered about the authorship of the lost *Bhāgavṛtti*,[10] his statement about the origin of the book he was himself commenting upon cannot be lightly brushed aside. Lakṣmaṇasena's dominion probably included part of Mithilā and Magadha and Puruṣottama might very well belong to Mithilā without conflicting

8 Cf. *J.R.A.S.B.*, vol. VIII, (1942), p. 23.

9 Sṛṣṭidhara refers to many early and unknown authors: the commentary on Amara he consulted was that of Subhūti (under Pan. V. ii. 83) and not Rāyamukuṭa. Umāpatidāsa's comm. on Bhaṭṭi (under I. iv. 96), Tathāgatācāryya on the *Vāsavadattā* (III. iii. 132), Vallabhācāryya on Māgha (III. ii. 111) are notable instances. Under I. iii. 21 he quotes "तथा च, 'कुञ्जरकुलं कुम्भाभयाभ्यर्थनादीनं त्वामनुनाथते कुचयुगं पत्रावृतं मा कृथा' इति च याचलायामिति सरस्वतीतीर्थपादाः।" This is the only place where an author is cited with due reverence, implying that they were not far removed in time. Narahari Sarasvatītīrtha, the famous commentator on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, exactly records his birth-date and horoscope and was born in 1298 Śaka (=October, 1376 A.D. as worked out by the data in the horoscope: *vide* Jhalkikara's Ed., Intr., p. 23, where the reference to the *Vikramābda* is wholly wrong). Sṛṣṭidhara thus probably lived late in the 15th century A.D.

10 Sṛṣṭidhara was apparently confused by passages like भर्तृहरिणा भागवृत्ति-कृता चोक्तं (*Durghaṭavṛtti*, p. 117). His mistake is repeated by Dr. S. K. De by identifying two distinct authors mentioned in the line तथा च भागवृत्तिकृता विमल-मतिनाप्येष निपातितः (*Kātantra-pariśiṣṭa*, end of Sandhi).

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Sandhi) with Sṛṣṭidhara's statement. But the internal evidence conclusively rules out such conjectures.

(2) Mss. copies of Puruṣottama's masterpiece, the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, are available in large numbers in North Bengal and the late Mr. Cakravartī utilised one dozen of them in editing the book, rejecting many others as useless. On the other hand, hardly any copy of the book has been discovered outside Bengal. In one line of argument adopted by some scholars,[11] this alone is sufficient to establish Puruṣottama's belonging to Bengal.

(3) The *Bhāṣāvṛtti* was studied in the *Tols* of North Bengal till the end of the last century. Adam in his Second Report (1835 A.D.) on the Vernacular Education of Bengal gives a complete list of all the Sanskrit seminaries existing then in one single Thana (Natore) of the Rajshahi District. He remarks, "The Sanskrit Grammar of Panini is that which is most generally used in this district. This pandit (Kārtikeyacandra Vidyālaṅkāra of vill. Bājurbhāg) first teaches the *Bhashavritti*.....He afterwards reads the *Nyasa*....." (Adam's Reports, Cal. Univ. Ed., pp. 561-2).

(4) Puruṣottama has been cited more or less extensively by all grammarians of Bengal almost in an unbroken line from Śaraṇadeva (1173-4 A.D.) and Sarvānanda (*after* 1159-60 A.D.)[12] down to the last century. Bengal was all along free from the influence of the Benares school of Pāṇini (Bhaṭṭoji etc.), while references to Puruṣottama are very few and far between in the works of that school.[13]

11 According to S. K. De (*D. R. Bhandarkar vol.*, p. 74 f.n.) the 'eastern origin' of the *Agnipurāṇa* is indicated by 'the fact that Bengal Mss. are by far the more plentiful.' A fragment of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* is reported from Bombay (Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1887-91, 544) and another from Madras (R. 4200). The copy at London (*I.O.*, p. 162) is in Bengali Script.

12 The date (1081 Śaka) recorded by Sarvānanda is not of himself but of a previous scholar Śrīnivāsa. In genealogies of Rāḍhīya Brahmins of Bengal we can trace a very rare name 'Atihara' in the *Vandyaghaṭiya* family, which seems to be identical with the name of Sarvānanda's father 'Ārtihara', which is equally rare. One of the Kulins honoured in the 2nd Samikaraṇa was Devala and Atihara was an younger brother of Devala's father. Sarvānanda then becomes a contemporary of Devala (last quarter of the 12th century).

13 Bhaṭṭoji in his *Praudhamanoramā* (Benares, 1907) refers to Puruṣottama once only by name (p. 138) and once only to the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (p. 486). On the other hand, we counted *sixteen* references to Puruṣottama and the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* in the small printed fragment of Puṇḍarīkākṣa Vidyāsāgara's *Kātantrapradīpa* on Kāraka and all of them except two can be traced in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*. Gopīnātha Tarkācāryya,

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(5) The late Mr. Cakravartī (*Op. cit.*, Intr., p. 8) rightly points out that the phrase 'punarbaś' in the enumeration of the *Pratyāhāras* (p. 1) by Puruṣottama implies an identical appearance and pronunciation of the distinct letters 'b' and 'v', which is prevalent nowhere else in India except Bengal. Within a century before Puruṣottama the Maithila scholar Udayanācāryya throws a sharp fling at the scholars of Bengal for their similarly identical pronunciation of the three sibilants.[14] This proves that Mithila cannot be the birth-place of Puruṣottama.

(6) Under Pāṇ. V. iii. 57 Puruṣottama gives the very suggestive illustration पाश्चात्या गौडेभ्य आढ्यतराः None but an author from Gauḍa can compare the particular term "Gauḍa" with such a sweeping general term as 'pāścātya.' The decline of prosperity in Bengal along with the fall of the Pāla empire seems to be reflected in this sentence.

(7) The illustration 'Varendrī-Magadham' under II. iv. 7 is also quite unique and can very well compare with the 'Rāḍhā-Magadham' of another Bengali grammarian Kramadīśvara.[15]

(8) Several other illustrations from the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* may be cited as pointing to the Bengali origin of the author:—

(i) वङ्गाः जनपदाः under I. ii. 51. There are 8 illustrations in the *Kāśikā* here including this one. But while Jayāditya selects 'Pañcālāḥ' for special analysis at the outset, Puruṣottama prefers 'Vaṅgāḥ.'

(ii) लेखको नास्तिदोषकः under II. ii. 24, a familiar apologia of Bengali scribes.

(iii) कृष्णदासस्य पुत्रां तुभ्यमहं सम्प्रददे under VI. iii. 70, also a familiar name in Bengal.

(iv) पद्मावती as the name of a river under VI. iii. 120, being the well-known Padmā of Bengal.

a later author of the 16th cent. A.D., in his comm. on the *Kātantraparišiṣṭa* has as many references mostly under the name of *Laghuvṛtti*. (Gurunātha's Ed., 1321 B.S., pp. 43, 173, 234, 265, 280, 283, 300, 304, 373, 376, 451, 456, 463, 465, 472, & 486).

14 In the *Tātparya-pariśuddhi* as follows:—

शुक्लादिव्यावृत्तिनिबन्धनस्तु नीलादिव्यवहारः शषयोरिव सव्यवहारो गौडानाम् । ... इत्यादि तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धावुदयनः ।

(cited by Vallabhācāryya in the *Nyāyalīlāvatī*, Chow. Ed., p. 445).

15 *Saṅkṣiptasāra* VII. 359. Kramadīśvara or rather his reviser Jumara seems to have borrowed some striking examples from Puruṣottama and cannot, therefore, be placed before the 13th cent. A.D. Vide *Indian Culture*, vol. VI, p. 476.

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(ii-iv) are not found in the *Kāśikā*.

The cumulative effect of the above evidence can never be mistaken. but in spite of this an esteemed scholar of Bengal most arbitrarily regards this claim of Bengal as "*extremely problematical*," without assigning any cogent reasons.[16]

Puruṣottama's date and works

Besides the two printed works, the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (Ed., V.R.S., Rajshahi, 1918) and the *Prākṛtānuśāsana* (Ed., Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Paris, 1938), the following books are ascribed to the same author.

(i) The *Kārakacakra* (L. 2345), an elementary treatise to be shortly published by the V. R. Museum.

(ii-iii) Two polemical works, the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* (Mss. at Rajshahi and Poona) and the *Jñāpakasamuccaya* (Mss. at Oxford and Poona), where the author's scholarship is shown at its best.

(iv) An *Uṇādivṛtti* (lost) cited by Ujjvaladatta (II. 25, 49, III. 91, 98).

(v) Durghaṭa cited by Sarvānanda (Pt. II, p. 277).

(vi) A comm. on the *Raghuvaṃśam* cited by Subhūticandra, a comm. on the *Amarakoṣa* (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII, p. 379).

16 S. K. De, in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to F. W. Thomas*, 1939, pp. 57-8. Our knowledge about these early writers are so meagre and incomplete that every scrap about them should be carefully collected and examined. Of late Dr. De has been criticising any attempt to put forth Bengal's claim for early Sanskrit authors on indirect evidence. He regards the evidence for Śriharṣa the Naiṣadha-kāra as "*not conclusive*" (*New Indian Antiquary*, August 1939. Ross Number, pp. 265-6) and that for Śālikanātha '*unproved*' (*ib.*, p. 271 f.n.). Dr. De again put forth Bengal's claim for the semi-mythical Pālakāpya on extremely flimsy grounds (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, 1940, p. 73) and advertised it beforehand as *with some justification*' (*New Indian Antiquary*. Ross Number, 1939, p. 263). The *Pālakāpya*, as a matter of fact, was professedly written at the court of king Romapāda of Aṅga, whose emissaries brought the sage from his hermitage 'resting on the Himālaya (*śailarājāśritam* I. 39) or 'situated by the side of the Himālaya' (*himavataḥ pārśve* I. 101), where the *Lauhitya* turns towards the ocean i.e. somewhat in the eastern border of Upper Assam. In other words the residence of Pālakāpya, whether before or afterwards, was exactly beyond the limits of the province of Bengal! Dr. De has vaguely referred in this connection to 'other traditions' of Puruṣottama's belonging to Mithilā and Orissa. We are not aware of any such traditions, which should be published for examination in connection with the problem before us.

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(vii) Comm. on the *Mahābhāṣya* noticed above, which was his last work left unfinished.

It is not possible to determine whether the lexicographer Puruṣottama is identical with the grammarian.[17]

The upper limit of Puruṣottama's date depends on that of Maitreya Rakṣita, the greatest name in the Bengal school of Pāṇini.[18] Rakṣita is found cited both in the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* and the *Jñāpakasamuccaya* of Puruṣottama.[19] Rakṣita seems to refer to an opinion of Bhojadeva;[20] if so, he cannot be

17 L. 2155 is wrongly described as a comm. on Bhaṭṭi; it is really a complete copy of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*.

18 S. K. De criticises our suggestion that Rakṣita belonged to the Maitreya family of the Vārendra Brahmins of Bengal (*New Ind. Ant.*, Ross Number, 1939, p. 272 f.n.). As a matter of fact what he has chosen to treat as an 'extraordinary argument' requiring 'no serious consideration' was really an well established tradition long current in North Bengal and requires very serious consideration for being carefully recorded more than a century ago by Adam in his Report on Vernacular Education (1835). He writes '... besides the grammatical works of this school previously cited, this teacher also uses the *Dhātupradīpa* or *Tantrapradīpa*, an illustration of Pāṇini's list of roots with examples of their inflexions by Maitreya Rakṣita, an ancient author *reputed to have been a native of the village of Majgaon, in the Natore Thana of Rajshahi.*' (Cal. Univ. Ed., pp. 577-78). It should be noted that Adam made a complete survey of all the then existing *Tols* of this particular Thana. Majgaon or Mājhagrām, as the genealogical works state, was the ancestral place of a branch of the *Maitreya* family and the first ancestor of this branch is actually stated to be one 'Rakṣitāi', whom the genealogical evidence would place somewhere in the 13th or 14th cent. A.D. (*Kulaśāstradīpikā* by J. C. Cakravartī, p. 37). According to S. K. De 'as a Buddhist writer the name Maitreya-rakṣita is quite intelligible by itself', but he does not explain why then he is cited by all later authors, either as 'Maitreya' or as 'Rakṣita', *but never as 'Maitreya-rakṣita'*. Nor does he examine the implication of the appositional phrase 'Maitreyo Rakṣitah' found in Ujjvaladatta (I. 38) and the reading of the colophon in many copies of the *Tantrapradīpa* as 'Mahopādhyāya-Maitreya-Śrī-Rakṣita-viracite'.

19 "ज्ञापकज्ञात्यर्थे 'अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे' इत्यसवर्णग्रहणं रक्षितेनोपवर्णितम् ।" (V. R. S. Ms. No. 630. fol. 18b. cf. Siradeva's *Paribhāṣāvṛtti*, pp. 124-25). For the reference in the *Jñāpakasamuccaya*, *vide* Aufrecht: *Oxf. Cat.*, p. 161.

20 Under Pāṇ. VII. iii. 19 Rakṣita in his *Tantrapradīpa* (V. R. S. Ms. fol. 8b cf. also *Durghaṭavṛtti loc. cit.*) remarks on the formation of the word 'सौहृद'- केचिदर्थवदग्रहणपरिभाषया निपातितसुहृच्छब्दस्य योऽवयवो हृच्छब्दस्तदन्तस्य उत्तरपदवृद्धिर्न भवतीति व्याचक्षते । समुदायो हि तत्र मित्रवचनः अवयवस्तु निरर्थक एव ॥ This tallies with the opinion of Bhojadeva as cited in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* of Vardhamāna (Eggeling's Ed., p. 431-32). Bhojadeva reigned about 1010-1055 A.D.

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placed before the last quarter of the 11th cent. (1075-1100 A.D.). In the *Dhātupradīpa* (p. 124) he refers to the *Sarvasva* i.e. the *Upādhyāya-sarvasva* of Dāmodara Sena, apparently a comparatively recent writer of Bengal. It is, therefore, right to place him between 1075-1125 A.D., so that the upper limit of Puruṣottama's date would be somewhere in the second quarter of the 12th cent. (1125-50 A.D.). This does not conflict with his traditional contemporaneity with Lakṣmaṇa Sena; for, his reference in Śaraṇadeva (1173-4 A.D.) and Sarvānanda is easily explained by an interval of a decade or two, as all of them belong to the same province and probably also to the same court.[21]

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21 Śrīnivāsa wrote the *Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇi*, on the evidence of Sarvānanda (p. 91), in 1081 *Śaka* (1159-60 A.D.) and was respectfully engaged by Ballāla Sena to write for him the *Adbhutasāgara* as stated in v. 8:—

मीमांसानयमांसल-स्मृतिपरामर्शप्रकर्षस्फुर-
द्वेदाङ्गागमतत्त्वनिस्रपमतिं ग्रन्थेऽत्र पृथ्वीपतिः ।
युक्तायुक्तविवेचनप्रणयिनं प्रीत्या म[हि](न्ताप)नी-
वंशो(त्तं)समहार्घरत्नमनघश्रीः श्रीनिवासं व्यधात् ॥

The *Adbhutasāgara* was begun in 1090 *Śaka* (1168-9 A.D.). This Śrīnivāsa was cited in the *Brāhmaṇasarvasa* by Halāyudha (*vide J.A.S.B.*, 1915, p. 330), who again was in his turn cited in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. (*ib.*, p. 333). So all the three scholars flourished under the same monarch Lakṣmaṇa Sena within his actual reign. Similarly, Śaraṇa in 1173-4 A.D. might very well refer to Puruṣottama who wrote, say, in 1150-60 A.D.

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Yādavaprakāśa on the ancient Geography of India

Yādavaprakāśa was born in the village Tiruppuṭkuli or Gṛdhrasaras near Kāñcīpuram or Conjeeveram. He was the *Guru* (preceptor) of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānujācārya. He is referred to by Hemacandra. He may be taken to have flourished in the second half of the eleventh century A.D. Dr. Gustav Oppert places his date in *c.* 1000 A.D.

Yādavaprakāśa has written a book on Sanskrit vocabulary, named *Vaijayantī*.[1] The *Deśādhyāya* in *Bhūmikāṇḍa* and *Purādhyāya* in *Pātālakāṇḍa* of the *Prayāyabhāga* of this work throw important light on the ancient geography of India. The book has hardly been noticed by the scholars working on this branch of Indology.

The *Vaijayantī* states that[2] there are six islands, *viz.*, Aṅgadvīpa, Yavadvīpa, Malayadvīpa, Śaṅkhadvīpa, Kuśadvīpa, and Varāhadvīpa. Prācya is to the south-east of Śarāvatī, and Udīcya is to the north-west of it (Śarāvatī). Madhya-deśa is in between them (Prācya and Udīcya). Āryāvarta, otherwise known as Brahmavedi, is between the Vindhya and the Himālaya.

Udīcya includes the following countries (janapada): Cīna (=Kharaṃbhara), Gandhāra (=Dihaṇḍa), Yavana (=Huruṣkara), Saṃbhāla (=Śūrasena), Lampāka (=Muruṇḍa), Tokṣāra (=Yugālika), Jālaṃdhara (=Trigarta) Hola (=Kharaṭī), Pratyagratha (=Ahicchatra), Tula (=Kalṃgaka), Ṭarka (in which is Bālhīka), Vāhīka (in which is Vālhika), Kāśmīra (in which is Kīra), Turuṣka (in which is Śākhī), Sindhu (in which is Dārada), Kumālaka (=Sauvīra), Yaudheya (=Nṛgālika), Pārada, Kiñja, Kolya and other places.

Prācya includes the janapadas: Mudgaraka (=Kuja), Prāgjyotiṣa (=Kāmarūpa and Prāgjālika), Videha, (=Tīrabhukti), Srāvastī (=Puraṃjaka), Rāḍhā (=Suhma), Puṇḍra (=Vareṃdrī), Bhaurika (=Samataṭa), Aṅga (=Campā), Vaṅga (=Harikelī), Magadha (=Kīkaṭa), Andhra, Vrata, Sālva and others.

Dakṣiṇāpatha is the name of the country to the south of the Vindhya. In it are the countries (deśa): Pāṇḍya (=Pāṃdiya), Kuntala (=Upahālaka), Cola (=Utpalāvarta), Mahārāṣṭra (=Daṇḍaka), Kerala, Kulya, Setuja, Kulakālaka, Iṣīka, Śabara, Āraṭṭa, and other countries.

Aparāṃta (also known as Pāścātya and Sūryāraka) includes Malada and other countries upto the Vindhya settlements. In it are the following:—

1 Edited by Gustav Oppert, Ph.D., Madras, 1893. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

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Malada (=Sthaura), Karūśa (=Bṛhadgṛha), Traipura (=Hahāla, Caidya, and Cedi), Daśārṇa (=Vedipara), Mālava (=Avanti), Mekala, Bhoja, Kośala and other countries.

Madhyadeśa includes the countries: Marava (=Daśeraka), Śālva (=Kārakutsīya, and whose six parts are Udumbara, Tilakhala, Mahākāra, Yugaṃdhara, Huliṃga, and Śaradaṃḍa), Kuntala, Kulya, Kaliṅga, Kāśi, Kosala, Mekala, Kusaṭa, Jāṃgala, Pṛthava (Pṛthu), Vṛka, and Paṭaccara.

Names of cities: Sāketa (=Ayodhyā and Kosalānandinī), Dvārakā (=Dvāravatī), Madhurā (=Madhūṣikā, Mathurā, Madhūpaghnā) situated in Śūrasena, Kauśa (=Kuśasthalī), Vārāṇasī (=Śivapurī, Vāraṇāsī, and Kāśikā), Mithilā (=Videha), Kanyākubja (=Mahodaya), Hastinī (=Hāstinapura, Nāgāhva, and Hastināpura), Khāṇḍavaprastha, Jayantipura (=Āhuka), Avantī (=Takṣaśilā), Kakundī (=Vāraṇāvata), Devīkoṭṭa (=Koṭivarṣa), Māhiṣmatī (=Vṛkasthalī).

The above geographical observations of *Vaijayantī* may be compared with those made in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃśā*[3] (*c.* A.D. 925), Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*[4] (*c.* A.D. 1150), Puruṣottamadeva's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*[5] (twelfth century), and in other contemporary and nearly contemporary works in order to estimate their value.

Āryāvarta-Brahmavedi. Rājaśekhara and Hemacandra mention that Āryāvarta is the country between the Himalaya and the Vindhya, and it extends from the eastern ocean to the western ocean.[6] Rājaśekhara elsewhere states[7] that the Narmadā is the boundary between the Āryāvarta and Dakṣiṇāpatha. According to Hemacandra Brahmavedi is the territory between the five Rāma lakes.[8] Bhuvaneśvar Inscription[9] of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva states that Rāḍhā is situated in Āryāvarta.

Udīcya. According to *Vaijayantī* it extended from Ramnagar, in Rohilkhand (Ahicchatra), to Lamghan (Lampaka) in Afghanistan. It appears from the Ghoshrawa inscription of Devapāla that Udīcīpatha and Uttarāpatha are identical.[10] Rājaśekhara mentions Udīcya as one of the four quarters (*diśaḥ*). He places Uttarāpatha beyond Pṛthudaka,

3 Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. I.

4 Ed. S. V. Dharmapuri, *Yashovijaya.* Jaina Granthamāla (41), p. 379 ff.

5 Ed. C. A. Seelakkandha. Bombay, 1916, p. 30. The earliest reference to Puruṣottamadeva is that by Sarvānanda (1159 A.D.). For further discussion cf. Intro. XXII, *Kalpadrukośa, GOS.*, No. XLII.

6 *Kāvya.*, p. 93. 7 *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Act. VI. 8 *Abhi.*, p. 379.

9 *Ins. Bengal*, 36. 10 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, 47, 49.

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modern Pehoba, in the Karnal District, Punjab, and states that Śaka, Kekaya, Vokkāṇa, Hūṇa, Vāṇāyuja, Kāmboja, Vālhīka, Valhava, Limpāka, Kulūta, Kīra, Tangaṇa, Tuṣāra, Turuṣka, Barbara, Hurahūva, Hūhuka, Sahuḍa, Haṃsamārga, Ramaṭha, Karakaṇṭha etc., are situated in it.[11] Hemacandra agrees with Yādavaprakāśa in placing it to the north-west of Śarāvatī.[12] An inscription, dated 1107 A.D., relates that Banjsthana (Madhukarghar, in the Bundi State, Rajputana) lay in the extremity of Dakhin and Udīcya-deśa.[13]

Gāndhāra-Dihaṇḍa. *Gāndhāra* is mentioned in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla.[14]

Yavana-Huruṣkara. Yavana is referred to in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla. Rājaśekhara places Yavana country in Paścād-deśa.[15]

Sambhāla-Śūrasena. Śūrasena was the country in which Mathurā was situated.[16] Rājaśekhara refers to Śūrasena.[17]

Lampaka-Muruṇḍa. Hemacandra also states that Lampaka is Muruṇḍa.[18] Rājaśekhara seems to be referring to Lampaka as Limpaka.[19] Muruṇḍa is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta along with Daivaputra Sāhi Sahānuṣāhi and Śaka.[20] Lampaka is the modern Lamghan in Afghanistan.

Tokṣāra-Yugālika. Tokṣāra seems to be identical with Tuṣāra, mentioned by Rājaśekhara.[21] It is identified with upper Oxus valley, including Balkh and Badakshan.

Jalaṃdhara-Trigarta. Hemacandra agrees with *Vaijayantī* on this point. Puruṣottama mentions Trigartaka as another name of Ṭakka. An inscription from Baijnath states that Jālaṃdhara is identical with Trigarta.[22]

Pratyagratha-Ahicchatra. *Vaijayantī* finds support in Hemacandra.[23] It is identified with Ramnagar, in the Bareilly District.

11 *Kāvya*., 94. 12 *Abhi*., p. 380.

13 Author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 159.

14 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 14. *Cf*. Foucher, *L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, vol. I, p. 193. Gandhārāmaṇḍala.

15 *Ibid*., *Kāvya*. 94. *Cf*. Yavana-pura. N. L. Dey, *Geo. Dic*.

16 *Vaijayantī*, p. 37, v. 25. 17 *Kāvya*., 8, 50. 18 *Abhi*., p. 383.

19 *Kāvya*., 94. 20 *CII*., 8. 21 *Kāvya*., 94.

22 *Abhi*., p. 382; *Trikāṇḍa*., p. 31; *EI*., I, 116, 117.

23 *Abhi*., p. 383. The early Jaina literature states that Ahicchatra is in Jāṅgala (*IA*., XX, 375). But Hemacandra makes it clear that Pratyagratha, otherwise called Ahicchatra, is distinct from Jāṅgala or Nirjala. (*Abhi*., p. 380).

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Ṭarka-Bālhīka. Rājaśekhara refers to Ṭakka and Vālhika.[24] Hemacandra differs from Yādavaprakāśa. He states that Ṭakka is another name of Vāhīka, and Vālhīka is distinct from it.[25] Ṭakka is the country round Sialkot, in the Punjab. Puruṣottama mentions Bālhika and Trigartaka as different names of Ṭakka.[26]

Vāhīka-Vālhika. Rājaśekhara also distinguishes Vāhīka from Bālhika.[27] Hemacandra reports that Vālhika is an alternative form of Vālhīka.[28]

Kāśmīra Kīra. Rājaśekhara places Kīra in Uttarāpatha, and locates Kāśmīra elsewhere.[29] Puruṣottama mentions that Kīra is in Kāśmīra. Hemacandra states that Mādhumata, Sārasvata and Vikarṇika are the other names of Kāśmīra.[30] Kīra is identified with the Kangra valley, in the Punjab.

Turuṣka-Śākhi. Rājaśekhara refers to Turuṣka.[31] Hemacandra mentions Sākhi as the second name of Turuṣka.[32] Puruṣottama states that Khaśa is same as Turuṣka.[33]

Sindhu-Dārada. Sindhu is to be located to the north of Kashmir, as the Dārada country was situated in it.

Kumālaka-Sauvīra. Vaijayantī's report is supported by Hemacandra.[34] It is identified with Multan.

Cīna-Kharaṃbhara, Hola-Kharaṭī, Tula-Kaliṅgaka, Yaudheya-Nṛgâlika, Pārada Kiñja, and Kulya are not mentioned by the authorities referred to above.

Prācya. Vaijayantī's statement regarding the location of Prācya agrees with Hemacandra.[35] Rājaśekhara mentions Prācya or Prācī as one of the four quarters, which includes the countries Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Brahma, Puṇḍra etc.[36] According to him Pūrva-deśa is beyond Vārāṇasi. In it are situated—Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Magadha, Mudgara, Videha, Nepāla, Puṇḍra, Prāgjyotiṣa, Tāmaliptaka, Malada, Mallavartaka, Suhma, Brahmottara, etc.[37] Puruṣottama makes a confusion between Madhya-deśa and Pūrva-deśa.[38]

24 *Kāvya.*, p. 51, 94.
25 *Abhi.*, p. 382, 383.
26 *Trikāṇḍa.*, p. 31.
27 *Kāvya.*, p. 8.
28 *Abhi.*, p. 383.
29 *Kāvya*, pp. 94, 98.
30 *Abhi.*, p. 382. *Trikāṇḍa.*, p. 31.
31 *Kāvya.*, p. 94.
32 *Abhi.*, p. 383.
33 *Trikāṇḍa.*, p. 31.
34 *Abhi.*, p. 383.
35 *Abhi.*, p. 380.
36 *Kāvya*, pp. 94, 98.
37 *Kāvya*, p. 94.
38 *Trikāṇḍa*, p. 31.

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Mudgaraka-Kuja. Rājaśekhara mentions it as Mudgara.[39] It is to be identified with Mudgalagiri or Mudgagiri, modern Munghyr.[40]

Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa-Prāgjālika. Rājaśekhara mentions Prāgjyotiṣa as a country and Kāmarūpa as a mountain.[41] Hemacandra agrees with *Vaijayantī* that Kāmarūpa is another name of Prāgjyotiṣa.[42] Puruṣottama states that Prāgjyotiṣa is in Kāmarūpa.[43] Vaidyadeva's Kamauli plate mentions that Kāmarūpa-Maṇḍala is in Prāgjyotiṣa-Bhukti.[44]

Videha-Tirabhukti. Rājaśekhara refers to the country of Videha.[45] Puruṣottama states that Nicchavi (Licchavi?) and Videha are the alternative names of Tirabhukti.[46] Hemacandra mentions Videha as a city.[47] *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* locates Tirabhukti on the north bańk of the Ganges.[48] A miniature label in a Nepal Mss. of the eleventh century lays down that Vaiśālī is situated in Tirabhukti.[49]

Srāvastī-Puramjaka. Srāvastī is mentioned in the inscriptions of this period.

Rāḍhā-Suhma. Rājaśekhara refers to Suhma, and distinguishes it from Tāmaliptaka.[50] It is known from Hemacandra and Puruṣottama that Dāmalipta, Tāmaliptī, Tamālinī, Stambapū, Viṣṇugṛha, Velākūla, Tamālika are the other names of the city of Tāmalipta.[51] Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāracarita*[52] states that the city of Dāmalipa is situated in Rāḍhā. Dhoyī in his *Pavanadūta* mentions that Suhma is on the bank of the Ganges.[53] Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on *Mahābhārata* lays down that Suhma is identical with Rāḍhā.[54] The Sonpur grant[55] of Mahāśivagupta distinguishes Rāḍhā from Gauḍa. *Prabodhacandrodaya* and two inscriptions of the twelfth century state that Rāḍhā is in Gauḍa-deśa.[56]

Puṇḍra-Varendrī. The country of Puṇḍra formed a part of the Puṇḍravardhana-Bhukti, which included also Vaṅga and Samataṭa. The Silimpur inscription[57] states that the village Vālagrāma, the ornament of

39 *Kāvya.*, p. 93.
40 *Cf.* N. L. Dey's *Geo. Dictionary.*
41 *Kāvya.*, p. 93.
42 *Abhi.*, p. 381.
43 *Trikāṇḍa.*, p. 31.
44 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 134
45 *Kāvya.*, p. 93.
46 *Trikāṇḍa.*, p. 31.
47 *Abhi.*, p. 389.
48 T. Ganapati Sastri, p. 282.
49 Foucher, *Icono.*, I, p. 197.
50 *Kāvya.*, p. 93.
51 *Abhi.*, p. 391; *Trikāṇḍa.*, p. 31.
52 Ed. Jiv. and Vid. V. p. 244.
53 *JASB.*, 1905, pp. 45, 57.
54 Sabhā P., Ch. XXIX.
55 *JBORS.*, II, 45-49.
56 *Ins. Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 353; Cg. 248.
57 *EI.*, XIII, 283.

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Varendrī, is situated in Puṇḍra. It is known from *Rāma-carita*[58] that the village Bṛhadvaṭu is the crest-jewel of Varendrī, and is attached to Puṇḍravardhanapura. It will follow from these sources that the country of Puṇḍravardhana was either identical with Varendrī or included it, in which was situated the city of Puṇḍravardhana. The *Karatoyā-māhātmya*[59] states that the people of Puṇḍra purified themselves by taking their bath in the Karatoyā. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*[60] mentions *Puṇḍrāḥ syur Varendrī Gauḍa nīvṛtiḥ*. Some take it to mean—Puṇḍra is Varendrī and Gauḍa is Nīvṛti. *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa*[61] mentions Gauḍa and Puṇḍra side by side. But the above statement of *Trikāṇḍāśeṣa* may also be taken to mean that Varendrī, Gauḍa and Nīvṛti are the other names of Puṇḍra. Gauḍa cannot be taken to be distinct from Puṇḍra-Varendrī. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[62] mentions that the city of Puṇḍravardhana was the seat of the king of Gauḍa. *Rāma-carita* mentions Varendrī as the paternal kingdom of Rāmapāla. It elsewhere mentions Rāmapāla as the king of Gauḍa.[63] The *Purāṇsarvasva*[64] states that Varendrī was situated in Gauḍa. The Kollagalu inscription,[65] dated A.D. 967, reports that Gadādhara was the crest-jewel of Gauḍa and the illuminator of Varendrī.

Bhaurika-Samataṭa. It is known from the Baghaura inscription[66] that the Tipperah District was in Samataṭa. *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* states that Samotadya (Samataṭa?) is to the east of Lohitya. The same authority elsewhere mentions Sāmataṭa and Sāmātaṭa.[67]

Vaṅga-Harikela. Vikrampur in the Dacca District and Ramasiddhi in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Bakharganj District were in Vaṅga.[68] So it may be assumed that the Dacca, Faridpur, and part of Bakarganj Districts were situated in Vaṅga. *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* mentions that Vaṅgaka is to the east of Lauhitya. It elsewhere states that Vaṅga-deśa was on the bank of the Lauhitya.[69] Vaṅgaka is identical with Vaṅga. Jayamaṅgala in his commentary on Vātsyāyaṇa's *Kāmasūtra* places Vaṅga to the east of Lauhitya.[70] But in view of the fact that Vikrampur was to the west of Lauhitya, the above statement of *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* and Jayamaṅgala

58 *Kavi. Pr.*, V. i.
59 *Skanda Purāṇa.*
60 P. 31.
61 T. G. Sastri, p. 232.
62 *Gauḍa-rājāśrayam-----nagaram Puṇḍravardhanam*—B.K. IV, v. 421.
63 Ch. I, vs. 38, 39; *Kavi. Pr.*, v. 11.
64 Aufrecht. *Cat.*, p. 87.
65 *El.*, XXI, 264.
66 *El.*, XVII.
67 T. Sastri, pp. 206, 232, 332
68 *Ins. Bengal*, 130, 177.
69 T. G. Sastri, pp. 206, 325.
70 *Vaṅgā Lauhityāt purveṇa.*

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cannot be accepted as correct.[71] *Matsya-Purāṇa*[72] reports that the Ganges passes by Kauśika, Magadha, Brahmottara, Vaṅga and Tāmralipta. Vaṅga may be taken to have been the country between the Ganges and the Meghna.

Harikela,[73] Harikelā,[74] Harikeli,[75] Harikella,[76] Harikelī[77] and Harikola[78] are synonymous terms. Yādavaprakāśa's statement that Harikelī is the same as Vaṅga finds support in Hemacandra.[79] Rāmpāl plate[80] of Śrīcandra seems to be corroborating the above statement of Yādavaprakāśa. The inscription states that Śrīcandra's father, Trailokyacandra, who was the king of Harikela, became the ruler of Candradvīpa. This suggests that Harikela was contiguous to Candradvīpa. Candradvīpa was situated in the southern part of the Bakarganj District. Śrīcandra was the ruler of Vaṅga, and he and his predecessors are not known to have ever held sway over the territory to the east of the Meghna. So the normal conclusion will be that Trailokyacandra, the king of Vaṅga-Harikela, annexed Candradvīpa to his kingdom.

Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa[81] refers to Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Harikela, Kalasamukha, and Carmaraṅga side by side. This may be taken to be distinguishing Vaṅga from Harikela. But *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa's* statements are not always reliable. It mentions Vidiśā, Mālava, and Daśārṇa side by side.[82] It will be wrong to assume that Vidiśā was distinct from Mālava and Daśārṇa.[83]

Aṅga-Campā. Rājaśekhara refers to Aṅga. Hemacandra mentions

71 The Jaina *Upāṅga Prajñāpana* mentions that Tāmralipti was situated in Vaṅga. The same authority again tells us that Koṭivarṣa was situated in Rāḍhā (*Koṭivarisam va Lāḍhāya*) *IA.*, XX, 375. So no importance should be attached to the above statements of this authority.

72 Ch. 120, vs. 43-52. Baṅgavāsi ed., p. 360. 73 Rampal Pl., *Ins. Beng.*, 4

74 Chittagong Pl. of Kāntideva, *Modern Review*, 1922.

75 *Kalpadrukośa*, Gaek. Or. S., vol. I, No. XLII, p. 7.

76 Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique l'Inde*, vol. I, p. 200.

77 Hemacandra, *Abhi.*, 382; *Vaijayanti.*

78 Dacca University Mss. 79 *Abhi.*, p. 382. 80 *Ins. Beng.*, p. 4.

81 T. G. Sastri, pp. 232, 233. 82 *Ibid.*, 332.

83 I-tsing places Samataṭa in Eastern India, and states that Harikela is the eastern limit of Eastern India (Beal's *Life*, Intro. XXXI). This will place Harikela to the east of Comilla. *Kalpadrukośa*, (*op. cit.*,) a work of the seventeenth century, states that Śrihaṭṭa is Harikeli. This finds support in a Dacca University Mss. of the same period. Another Mss. of Dacca University mentions Harikola and Śrihaṭṭa as identical. (I am thankful to Mr. S. C. Banerji, M.A., of the Mss. Section of the D. U. Library for drawing my attention to the above statement of *Kalpadrukośa*.)

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that Aṅga is indicated by Campā.[81] Both Hemacandra and Puruṣottama state that Mālinī is the other name of the (city) of Campā[83] Aṅga is identified with Bhagalpur.

Magadha-Kīkaṭa. Hemacandra and Puruṣottama support *Vaijayantī.*[86] Rājaśekhara states that Magadha is to the east of Vārāṇasī.[87]

Andhra. An inscription[88] from the Andhra country calls Vijayāditya III, king of Andhra, as the king of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta also places Andhra in Dakṣiṇāpatha.[89]

Vaijayantī also places Salya in Madhyadeśa. Kuja and Vrata are not found mentioned in any contemporary record.

Dakṣiṇāpatha. Rājaśekhara places Dakṣiṇāpatha to the south of Māhiṣmatī. Countries, situated in it, are Mahārāṣṭra, Māhiṣaka, Aśmaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Krathakaiśika, Sūrpāraka, Kāñcī, Kerala, Kāvera, Murala, Vanavāsaka, Siṃhala, Coḍa, Daṇḍaka, Pāṇḍya, Pallava, Gaṅga, Nāsikya, Koṅkaṇa, Kollagiri, Kallara etc. It [90] included Mahendra mountain. A miniature label in a Mss. from Nepal of the eleventh century states that Kāñcīpura (Conjeeveram) is in Dakṣiṇāpatha.[91]

Kuntala-Upahālaka. Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī.*[92]

Cola-Utpalāvarta. Cola is identical with Coḍa, mentioned by Rājaśekhara. According to the same authority Utpalāvatī is the name of a river in Dakṣiṇāpatha.[93] This river is the modern Vyapar, in the Tennevally District.

Mahārāṣṭra-Daṇḍaka. Rājaśekhara distinguishes Mahārāṣṭra from Daṇḍaka.

Kerala. According to Hemacandra Oṇḍra is the same as Kerala.[94]

Kulya, Setuja, Kulakālaka, Iṣīka, and Āraṭṭa are not mentioned in the contemporary records. *Mahābhārata* places Āraṭṭa in the Punjab.[95]

Aparānta-Paścātya-Sūryāraka. Rājaśekhara refers to Paścād-deśa, which lay beyond Devasabhā, and which included Devasabhā, Surāṣṭra, Daśeraka, Travaṇa, Bhṛgukaccha, Kacchīya, Ānarta, Arbuda, Brāhmaṇavāha, Yavana etc.[96]

84 *Abhi.*, p. 382.
85 *Ibid.*, 300; *Trikāṇḍa.* 3.
86 *Abhi.*, 383; *Trikāṇḍa.* 31.
87 *Kāvya.*, p. 33.
88 *South Indian Epigraphy*, 1938.
89 *CII.*, 8.
90 *Kāvya.*, p. 93.
91 Foucher, *Icon. Boud. Inde.*, I. p. 201
92 *Abhi.*, 383.
93 *Kāvya.*, p. 93.
94 *Abhi.*, 383.
95 *Cf.* N. L. Dey's *Geo. Dic*
96 *Kāvya.*, p. 94.

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Malada-Sthaura. Rājaśekhara places Malada in Pūrva-deśa.[97]

Karūśa-Bṛhadgṛha. Hemacandra and Puruṣottama support *Vaijayantī*.[98] Rājaśekhara mentions Bṛhadgṛha as the name of a mountain in Pūrva-deśa.[99]

Traipura-Hahāla-Caidya-Cedi. Hemacandra[100] mentions that Ḍāhala and Caidya are the other names of Tripura. According to Puruṣottama Caidya is the same as Ḍāhala.[101]

Daśārṇa-Vedipara. An inscription from Kalinjar mentions the Candella Paramārdi as the king of Daśārṇa.[102]

Mālava-Avanti. Hemacandra and Puruṣottama support *Vaijayantī*.[103] Kings of the Paramāra dynasty, who ruled from Dhārā and Ujjain, are mentioned as kings of Mālava.[104] Kāmasūtra's commentator Jayamaṅgala, who flourished later than the fourteenth century, states that Āvantika, which is identical with Ujjayinī-deśa, is apara-Mālava,[105] This has led some writers to suggest that Mālava proper is Daśārṇa. Jayamaṅgala's geographical knowledge is not perfect. It has already been noticed that he places Vaṅga to the east of Lauhitya. His remark on Mālava is to be rejected as it runs counter to the earlier authorities. Rājaśekhara mentions Mālava, Avanti and Vidiśā, and Mañjuśrī mentions Mālava, Vidiśā and Daśārṇa side by side.[106]

Bhoja. Bhoja is mentioned in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla.

Vaijayantī also places Mekala and Kosala in Madhya-deśa.

Madhya-deśa. Rājaśekhara states that Madhya-deśa lies between Uttarāpatha, Pūrva-deśa, Dakṣiṇāpatha and Paścād-deśa. It extends from the Himalaya to the Vindhya, and from Vinaśana to Prayāga.[107] Hemacandra agrees with Rājaśekhara in regard to the extent of Madhyadeśa.[108]

97 *Kāvya.*, p. 93; *cf.* N. L. Dey's *Geo. Dic.*
98 *Abhi.*, 383; *Trikāṇḍa.*, p 31.
99 *Kāvya.*, p. 93.
100 *Abhi.*, 381.
101 *Trikāṇḍa.*, p. 31.
102 Cunningham, *ASI.*, XXI, 37.
103 *Abhi.*, 381; *Trikāṇḍa*, 31.
104 Author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty.*
105 *Vaṅgā Lauhityāt pūrveṇa/ Aṅgā Mahānadyāḥ pūrveṇa/ Kaliṅgā Gauda-Viṣayāddakṣiṇena/ Vālhika deśyā Uttarāpathikāḥ/ Āvantikā Ujjayinī deśa bhavāḥ/ tā evāpara Mālavyaḥ/ paścima samudra samīpe Aparānta deśaḥ/ apara Mālava paścimena Lāṭa-Viṣayaḥ/ ..... Narmadā Karṇāṭa Viṣayayormadhye Mahārāṣṭra-Viṣaya/----*
106 *Kāvya.*, p. 9; T. G. Sastri.
107 *Kāvya.*, 94.
108 *Abhi.*, 379.

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Puruṣottama lays down that Kurukṣetra is Vinaśana.[109] *Vaijayantī* differs from the above authorities and includes Kaliṅga and Kuntala in Madhyadeśa.

Marava-Daseraka. Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī*.[110] Puruṣottama states that Marubhuva is an alternative name of Daśeraka.[111] Rājaśekhara places Daśeraka in Paścād-deśa. It is to be identified with Marwar.

Sālva-Kārakutsīya. Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī*.[112]

Udumbara. Udumbara-Viṣaya, which was situated in the Kālañjara-Maṇḍala, has been mentioned in the Barah copper plate of the Pratihāra Bhoja.[113]

Rajaśekhara places Kaliṅga and Kosala in Pūrvadeśa and Mekala mountain in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Pārthaparākrama mentions the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III, as the king of Jāṅgala.[114]

Sāketa-Ayodhyā-Kosalānandinī. Hemacandra states that Kosala and Ayodhyā are also known as Sāketa.[115] According to Puruṣottama Ayodhyā, and Uttara-Kosala, and Sāketa indicate the same countries.[116] Candrávati plate[117] of the Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva lays down that Ayodhyā is identical with Uttara-Kosala.

Dvārakā-Dvāravatī. Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī*.[118] Puruṣottama states that Abdhinagarī is Dvāravatī, and Dvārakā is Vanamālinī.[119]

Madhurā-Madhuṣikā-Mathurā-Madhupaghna. Hemacandra reports that Madhurā and Madhupaghna are the other names of Mathurā.[120] According to Puruṣottama Mathurā is Madhupaghna.[121]

Vaijayantī distinguishes *Kauśa-Kuśasthalī* from *Kānyakubja-Mahodaya.* But Hemacandra mentions that Kānyakubja, Mahodaya, Kanyākubja, Gādhipura, Kauśa, and Kuśasthala are the alternative names.[122] According to Puruṣottama, Kuśasthala is Kānyakubja.[123]

Vārāṇasī-Śivapurī-Vāraṇāsī-Kāśikā. Hemacandra remarks that Kāśi, Varāṇasī, Vārāṇasī and Śivapurī are the different names.[124] Puruṣottama states

109 *Trikāṇḍa.*, 32.
110 *Abhi.*, 382.
111 *Trikāṇḍa.*, 31.
112 *Abhi.*, 382.
113 *El.*, XIX, 15.
114 *Kāvya.*, Gack. Or. S. No. IV. p. 3.
115 *Abhi.*, 389.
116 *Trikāṇḍa.*, 31.
117 *El.*, XIV, 193.
118 *Abhi.*, 391.
119 *Trikāṇḍa.*, 32.
120 *Abhi.*, 390.
121 *Trikāṇḍa.*, 32.
122 *Abhi.*, 389.
123 *Trikāṇḍa.*, 32.
124 *Abhi.*, 389.

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that Vārāṇasī is Tīrtharāja.[125] *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* and some Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions mention Kāśī as a city.[126] The Nanyaura plate of the Candella Dhaṅga refers to Kāśikā.[127]

Mithilā-Videha. Both Hemacandra and Puruṣottama support *Vaijayantī.*[128]

Hastinī-Hāstinapura-Nāgāhva-Hastināpura. Hemacandra mentions that Hāstinapura, Hastinīpura, Gajāhva, and Hastināpura are identical.[129] Puruṣottama remarks that Hastināpura and Gajāhva are the other names of Nāgāhva.[130]

Avantī-Takṣaśilā. Hemacandra reports that Viśālā, Avantī, and Puṣkaraṇḍinī are the other names of Ujjayanī.[131] *Vaijayantī* is not supported by any other authority.

Devīkoṭṭa-Kaṭivarṣa. Hemacandra[132] lays down that Koṭivarṣa, Bāṇapura, Devīkoṭa, Umāvana, and Śoṇitapura are identical. Puruṣottama agrees with Hemacandra except that he mentions Uṣāvana in place of Umāvanta.[133] Manahali grant of Madanapāla refers to Koṭivarśa-Viṣaya.[134] Koṭivarṣa is identified with Bangadh in the Dinajpur District, Bengal.

Māhiṣmatī-Vṛkasthalī. The Paramāra Devapāla granted lands from his camp at Māhiṣmatī, which is identified with Mandhata on the Narmada.[135] Rājaśekhara refers to Māhiṣmatī beyond which lay Dakṣiṇāpatha.[136]

Kakundī-Vāraṇāvata and Khāṇḍavaprastha are not mentioned elsewhere.

It will follow from the above discussion that Yādavaprakāśa's observations on the ancient geography of India are fairly accurate. It is interesting to note that some of the countries and their different names mentioned by him, do not find place in the works of his contemporaries. The importance of the *Vaijayantī* for the knowledge in ancient geography of India can hardly be overestimated.

D. C. Ganguly

125 *Trikāṇḍa.*, 32.
126 T. G. Sastri, p. 642; *El.*, IV, 124-128.
127 *IA.*, XVI, 203.
128 *Abhi.*, 389; *Trikāṇḍa.*, 32.
129 *Abhi.*, 390.
130 *Trikāṇḍa.*, 32.
131 *Abhi.*, 390. (Rājaśekhara mentions Hastināpura as a *janapada. Kāvya.*, p. 8).
132 *Ibid.*, 390.
133 *Trikāṇḍa.*, 32.
134 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 147.
135 *El.*, IX, 103.
136 *Kāvya*, 93.

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Some Tales of Ancient Israel, their Originals and Parallels

Many a Jewish legend can be traced to an Indian source. In this paper I propose to narrate some tales of Ancient Israel and their parallels with a view to indicate their Indian origin.

1. Perverse Judgment

A. *Judges of Sodom*

The judges of Sodom were notorious for giving perverse decisions based on an equally perverse code of laws. The following are some of the examples:

(a) 1. The possessor of one ox had to find pasture for the day for all the cattle of the town, the poor man who had no ox had to do it for five days.

(b) 2. If a man cut off the ear of another man's donkey, he was compelled to keep and feed the animal until the ear had healed.

(c) 3. If in a quarrel a man hurt another and drew blood, the wounded man had to pay his assailant for the service he had rendered him by bleeding him, which they maintained, was a medical operation.

Of course clever men could by their intelligence retaliate by the "hoist-with-his-own-petard" method.

A. S. Rappoport in the Introduction (p. xxxiii) to his *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel* (Vol. I) says: ... "Benfey (*Pantshatantra* I pp. 402-3) calls attention to a tale by Lutfullah in which the judge follows the method of the judges of Sodom. In the third century of the Hegira there lived in Cairo a judge of the name of Mansur ben Musia. (a) 4 A soldier had borrowed money from a Jew and given the latter a bill wherein he promised him a pound of his flesh should he be unable to pay. When the day of payment arrives, the soldier finds himself unable to pay his debt; the Jew wants to drag him before the judge, and the soldier escapes. (b) 5 In his flight he jostles against against a pregnant woman whom he knocks down and she miscarries, (c) 6 He runs against a rider, gives his horse a blow and knock out the latter's eye. (d) 7 He runs, climbs up upon a

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hut, falls through the roof and kills a man. The Jew, the cousin of the pregnant woman, the rider, and the son of the man who had been killed, catch the soldier and bring him before the judge. (e) *8* In front of the latter's house they see a drunken man, whilst another man, still alive, is being buried. The judge now pronounces the following sentences:

(a) *4* With regard to the Jew, he decides in the (well-known) Shakesperian fashion, namely

> Therefore prepare thee to cut off the flesh.
> Shed thou no blood, nor cut thou less or more,
> But just a pound of flesh; if thou cut'st more
> ... ...
> Thou diest, and all thy goods are confiscate.
>
> —*The Merchant of Venice* IV. 1.

(b) *5* With regard to the woman, the soldier is to live so long with her until she has another child.

(c) *6* As for the rider, who was asking half the price of the horse which he valued at 200 gold pieces, the judge decrees that the horse be cut lengthwise into two equal halves, the undamaged half being kept by the owner, whilst the damaged be given to the soldier, who, however, should pay 100 gold pieces to the rider.

(d) *7* As for the son whose father the soldier had killed, the son is to get upon the roof of the hut, fall down upon the soldier and thus kill him. Naturally, all the paintiffs withdraw their claims.

(e) *8* As for the man who was being buried alive, two witnesses had testified that he had died, but he had now returned. As the two witnesses had confirmed their statement that the man had really died, it could not be his real self but a ghost, and in order to put an end to the discussion, the judge had ordered the man to be buried.

B. *A Tale from the Kathāsaritsāgara*

Now, here is a story from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Bk. xii, ch. 72, vol. II. p. 180 of C. H. Tawney's translation) which seems to have been the (nearest) inspirer of the Sodom judgment.

The story of Devabhūti tells *9* how the excellent wife of the learned Brahman of that name went into the kitchen garden to get vegetables, and saw a donkey belonging to a washerman eating them. So she took up

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a stick and ran after the donkey, and the animal fell into a pit.....and broke its hoof. When its master heard of that, he came in a passion and beat with a stick and kicked the Brahman woman. *10* Accordingly she, being pregnant, had a miscarriage, but the washerman returned home with his donkey. Then her husband.....complained to the chief magistrate of the town. The foolish man immediately had the washerman, whose name was Batasura, brought before him, and.....delivered this judgment: *9* "Since the donkey's hoof is broken, let the Brahman carry the donkey's load for the washerman until the donkey is again fit for work, *10* and let the washerman make the Brahman's wife pregnant again, since he made her miscarry. The Brahman and his wife in their despair took poison and died. The king put to death the inconsiderate judge.

C. *A Russian Tale*

There is a story well-known in Russia under the title of "Shemyakin Sud" or "Shemyaka's Judgment" derived from literary sources, with a variant given by Afanasief[1] ("Shazki," V. no. 19). *11* A poor man borrowed from his rich brother a pair of oxen, with which he ploughed his plot of ground. Coming away from the field he met an old man, who asked to whom the oxen belonged. "To my brother," was the reply. "Your brother is rich and stingy," said the old man; "Choose which you will, either his son shall die or his oxen." The poor man thought and thought. He was sorry both for the oxen and for his brother's son. At last he said, "Better let the oxen die." "Be it as you wish," said the old man. When the poor man reached his home the oxen suddenly fell down dead. The rich brother accused him of having worked them to death, and carried him off to the king. *12* On his way to the king's court the poor man accidentally sat down upon a baby and killed it. *13* and tried to commit suicide by jumping off a bridge, but only succeeded in crushing an old man whose son was taking him into the river for a bath. *14* He had also had the misfortune to pull off a horse's tail without meaning it. When summoned before the court for all these involuntary offences, he took a stone in his pocket tied up in a handkerchief, and stealthily produced it when he was held up before the judge, saying to himself, "If the judge goes against me I will kill him with this." *15* The judge fancied that the stone was a bribe of a

1 Schiefner and Ralston—*Tibetan Tales*, Intro. pp. XL ff.

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hundred roubles which the defendant wished to offer him, so he gave judgment in his favour in each case. *14* The poor man was to keep his brother's horse until its tail grew again, *12* to marry the woman whose child he had crushed, and *13* to stand under the bridge from which he had jumped and allow the son of the man he had killed to jump off the bridge on to him. The owner of the horse, the husband of the woman, and the son of the crushed man were all glad to buy off the culprit whom they had brought up for judgment. *15* "The satirical turn of the story and the allusion to bribe-taking are characteristic features of the Russian variants of this well-known Eastern tale."

D. *A Tibetan Tale* (Ādarśamukha, no. 3. of *T.T.*).

16. A Brahman named Dandin borrowed a pair of oxen from a householder. After ploughing his land, he went with the oxen to the householder's dwelling. As the man was at his dinner, Dandin let the oxen go to their stall; but they went out again by another door. When the householder had finished his meal, he found that the oxen had disappeared; he seized Dandin and asked where the oxen were. Dandin replied, "Did I not bring them back to your house?" The other accused him of having stolen them and asked him to come to King Ādarśamukha for judgment. They set out on their way.

17. A man from whom a mare had run away called out to Dandin to stop her. He asked how he was to stop her. The man told him to do so in any way he could. Dandin picked up a stone and flung it at the mare's head, and thereby killed her. The man brought him to the king.

18. Dandin tried to run away. As he sprang down from a wall, he fell upon a weaver who was at his work below, in consequence of which the weaver died. The weaver's wife wanted Dandin to restore her husband to him and brought him to the king for judgment.

19. They came to a deep river. Dandin asked a carpenter who was fording it with an axe in his mouth regarding the river's depth. In replying the carpenter let drop his axe and accused Dandin of having flung his axe into it.

20. By and by they who were leading Dandin along came to a drinking house. In it Dandin sat down upon the landlady's new-born babe, which was lying asleep under a dress, and killed it. The woman wanted Dandin to return it to her and brought him to the king.

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[*21*. On their way Dandin was successively requested by a crow, some gazelles, a partridge, a snake, a snake and ichneumon and a young wife to take charge of commission from each of them and get for them a satisfactory explanation of their queries. He assented].

16. The king asked the house-holder, "Did you see the oxen or did you not see them? Did Dandin drive your oxen into the stalls?"

"Yes, O king."

The king said, "As Dandin gave this man no information, his tongue shall be cut off. As this man did not tie up his oxen, his eyes shall be put out."

The complainant who had lost his oxen and was now losing his eyes withdrew his suit.

17. The king said, "As this man told him he might stop the mare by any means whatsoever, his tongue shall be cut off; but Dandin shall have his hand cut off, because he thought it impossible to stop the mare except by throwing a stone at her." The man who had lost his mare and was now going to lose his tongue did not press the suit.

18. The king said to the weaver's wife, "Then you shall receive this man as your husband." The woman withdrew her complaint.

19. The king ordered the carpenter's tongue to be cut off for he had spoken in the middle of the river, and Dandin's eyes to be put out as he though seeing the river was deep asked the carpenter if it was so. The carpenter dropped the suit.

20. The king said, "As the landlady left her child sleeping with a dress completely hiding it, her hand shall be cut off, but Dandin shall have his eyes put out, because he sat down upon an unfamiliar seat without making an investigation."

The authors remark in the foot-note that the "Tibetan tale is from Kah-gyur, book ii, pp. 198-201. We have here a simpler and at the same time more concrete recension of ch. xxxi of the Dsanglun....." The older version of the story is to be found in Gāmaṇī Caṇḍa Jātaka (ii no. 257), where Prince Ādāsamukha (Ādarśamukha, Mirror-face) gives decisions.

E. *A Pāli-Buddhistic Jātaka (Gāmaṇī Caṇḍa)*

22. Gāmaṇī-Caṇḍa, an old servant of the royal family, retired from the service and came to live in a village. As he had no oxen for farming, he borrowed two oxen from a friend, and after the day's ploughing

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brought them to the owner's house to return them. The oxen entered the house. Gāmaṇī saw that he and his friend were eating, but as they did not invite him, he went away without formally making over his charge. During night the oxen were stolen. The man wanted to make Gāmaṇī responsible. Gāmaṇī was now being led away to the king's court for judgment. 23 On the way he entered the house of a friend to get some food. The friend was absent. His wife asked him to wait till she prepared food for him. As she climbed the ladder to the grainstore in haste, she missed her footing and fell down. She was seven months with child—a miscarriage followed.

24. On their way to the court they saw a horse at the village gate running away. The groom who could not stop it cried out, "Uncle Caṇḍa-Gāmaṇī, hit the horse with something and lead him back." Gāmaṇī hit the horse with a stone he picked up. The stone broke the horse's leg. He was charged with tort. He was now three men's prisoner.

25. Gāmaṇī thought that there was no escape for him and wanted to commit suicide by falling from the precipice of a hill in the wood hard by the road. He threw himself down from the precipice but fell on the elder of the two basket-makers underneath and killed him on the spot. He was forthwith charged by the other with murder.

The king Mirror-face decided thus:

22. "Now, Caṇḍa, you failed to return the oxen, and therefore you are his debtor for them. But this man, in saying that he has not seen them, told a direct lie. Therefore you with your own hands shall pluck his eyes out, and you shall yourself pay him twentyfour pieces of money as the price of the oxen."

23. The Prince asked Caṇḍa to live with the woman till she had another child.

24. "This man told a direct lie in saying that he did not tell you to hold back the horse. You may tear out his tongue and then pay him a thousand pieces for the horse's price which I will give you."

25. "Caṇḍa, this man must have a father. But you cannot bring him back from the dead. Then take his mother to your house and do you be a father to him."

[21. On his way to the court Caṇḍa was charged with commission from some animals and a young man to explain why certain strange things happened. This episode was borrowed by the *T.T.*]

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Incidents of the story	Jain Nandī-sūtra (Goṇe-ghoḍaya)	Pāli Jātaka (Gāmaṇī-Caṇḍa)	Kathāsaritsāgara (Devabhūti)	Tibetan Tale No. 3 (Adaŕśamukha)	Russian Tale	Story of Lutfulla	Sodom's Judges	Remarks
(a) A man borrows a pair of oxen from a friend, and brings them back to his house, the latter sees them but does not care; they are stolen. He is accused of theft and led to the King's court;	26 (bullocks) Verdict—Plaintiff's eyes to be put out; defendant to pay price for bullocks.	22 (oxen) Verdict—Plaintiff's eyes to be put out; defendant to pay price.	— —	16 (oxen) Verdict—Plaintiff's eyes to be put out, defendant's tongue to be cut off.	11 (modified) Oxen fall down dead. No Verdict	4 No oxen. But a soldier borrows money from a Jew. Verdict—Cut out an exact pound of flesh without shedding blood (cf. Merchant of Venice, Shakespeare)	— —	4 Is a new and interesting feature.
(b) On the way he is asked by a man to stop a run-away horse, which he does by means of a stick or stone, maims or kills the animal, and is charged;	27 (horse), stick, dies Verdict—Defendant to pay price; plaintiff's tongue to be cut off.	24 (horse), stone, leg broken. Verdict—Defendant to pay price. Plaintiff's tongue to be cut off.	9 Devabhūti's wife chases a donkey with a stick, its hoof is broken. Verdict—Her husband to do donkey's work till hoof heals.	17 (mare), stone, dies Verdict—Defendant's hand and plaintiff's tongue to be cut off	14 Unintentionally pulls off horse's tail. Verdict—Defendant to maintain horse till tail grows again.	6 Blows out horse's eye. Verdict—Cut the horse lengthwise into two. defendant to pay for the part containing the damaged eye.	2 Donkey's ear cut off. Verdict—Defendant to keep and feed donkey till ear heal cf. 14.	9 Seems to be the immediate inspirer of 2.
(c) Despairing of escaping, he wants to commit suicide by (i) tying noose round his neck and hanging from a tree, or (ii) jumping from a hill, or (iii) wall, or (iv) bridge, or (v) roof of a hut, and kills a man underneath;	28 (i) Kills a Naṭa, Verdict—Let a Naṭa similarly hang himself from a tree, fall on defendant and kill him.	25 (ii) Defdt. kills a basket-maker, whose companion charges him with murder. Verdict—Defendant to be father to plaintiff and take the latter's mother to wife.	— —	18 (iii) Kills a weaver, whose wife wants husband to be restored. Verdict—Defendant to be her husband.	13 (iv) Defendant kills an old man whose son is plaintiff. Verdict—Plaintiff to kill defendant by jumping off the bridge on him.	7 (v) Defendant kills a man whose son is plaintiff. Verdict—Plaintiff to kill defendant by jumping from roof on him.	— —	28, 13 and 7 similar. 25 and 18 modified.
(d) (i) he is the indirect or unintentional cause of miscarriage of a pregnant woman, (ii) kills baby accidentally (by sitting upon it)	—	23 (i) Verdict—Defendant to make the woman pregnant.	10 (i) Defendant washerman kicks Devabhūti's wife. Verdict—Defendant to make her pregnant.	20 (ii) Verdict—Plaintiff land-lady's hand to be cut off, defendant's eyes to be plucked out.	12 (ii) Verdict—Defendant to marry plaintiff's wife and give her a child.	5 (i) Verdict—Defendant to make her pregnant.	—	—

Note:—(i) The figures in the several columns show the order of precedence of events. Search has to be made for the origin of 4 and 8. 15 is a local (satirical) feature of Russian tale. 19 is an additional item of *T. T.* whose origin has to be traced. 21 is an addendum tagged to Gāmaṇī-caṇḍajātaka and reproduced in *T. T.*, and shows unmistakably the Jātaka origin of *T. T.* (This feature of commission has descended to our floating folk-tales).

(ii) According to Dr. Brandes, Shakespeare must have got the story from Sir Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone*—a collection of tales published in Milan in 1558, though it seems to have been written nearly 200 years before. *Gesta Romanorum* (Deeds of the Romans) which was compiled towards the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century bears traces of Eastern origin. At least four stories of the *Cento Novello Antiche* compiled in the 13th-14th centuries I have traced to Jain and Buddhist origin. The Bond-story may likewise be traced to Indian origin.

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F. A Jain Tale from the Nandīsūtra

Goṇe ghoḍagapaḍaṇaṃ ca rukkhāo

26 A certain unlucky man found that whatever he did, turned out to his disadvantage invariably. Now on one occasion he begged of his friend the loan of a pair of bullocks, and with them he ploughed (his land); one day in the afternoon he brought them back and left them in the enclosure (*vāṭaka*). His friend (too) was engaged in eating, therefore he did not go near him; the friend saw the bullocks with his eyes. Taking for granted that his friend had seen the bullocks he went home; the bullocks, however, issuing out of the enclosure strayed elsewhere and were stolen by thieves. Then the owner of the bullocks asked that unlucky wretch for (the restoration of) the bullocks but he was unable to give them back. Then he was led away to the court. 27 While he was on the road, a certain man mounted on a horse was coming towards him. He was thrown down by the horse, who started fleeing. The owner called out, "Strike him with a stick." The unlucky man struck the horse but in a vital part, thereby causing his death. This man also arrested him. 28 When they came to the town, they found that the court had already risen. Therefore they encamped outside the city. There many men belonging to the Naṭa tribe were staying, all asleep. The unlucky man thought that there was no escape for him from that ocean of danger and wanted to commit suicide by tying a noose round his neck and hanging from the tree. But the piece of cloth which he made into a noose round his neck was of worn-out strands, and therefore being extremely weak, broke. Now he fell upon the old chief (*mahattara*) of the Naṭas, who was sleeping underneath; his whole weight having descended upon his neck he killed him forthwith. So the Naṭas also seized him and all went to court the following morning. They related their respective cases. The Kumārāmātya asked the wretch about the incidents. With a pitiful countenance he admitted the truth of all. Then the Kumārāmātya took compassion on him and gave the following verdict. 26 This man will give you the two bullocks, but he will pluck out your eyes; this man became debtless the very moment that you saw with your eyes the two bullocks; had you not seen them with your eyes then he would not return home; for never does he who has come for making over any thing to any body return home by leaving behind the thing (to be made over) without having reported the matter (i.e. made it known) to him." Then he summoned the

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second complainant, the owner of the horse and said to him. "27. This man will give you the horse, but he will cut out your tongue; for it is your tongue which said, 'Strike the horse with stick,' it is only then that he struck the horse, otherwise he would not have done it." Then he told the Naṭas. "28. This man has got nothing with him that I may cause him to give you. But this much I am doing: this man will stand underneath, let some chief of yours tie himself to the tree by means of a noose round the neck as he did, and let himself fall upon him." Then all released him. The *vainayikī buddhi* of the Kumārāmātya.

The Indian tales are undoubtedly the originals of those which had spread to Tibet, Syria, Russia and other parts of Europe. Within India there may be a difference of opinion as to the relative antiquity of Jain tales on the one hand and Pāli-Buddhistic on the other. Hertel claims anteriority for the Jain tales[2] and quotes a passage from the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*[3] attributing piracy to the Buddhists. Let us leave aside for the present the settlement of this dispute and be satisfied that they are both Indian. As Buddhism spread to Tibet, tales connected with Buddhism were naturally imported into Tibet. In the Preface to Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales* Mrs. Rhys Davids had indicated the following originals—16 from Pāli Jātakas, 5 from commentaries (Vinaya, Mhv. and Commentary, commentary on Dhammapada, Aṅguttara, Therīgāthā), 4 from Pañcatantra (including one from Hitopadeśa) and 1 from Mahābhārata, leaving the remaining 24 blank and hoping that the gaps might well be further reduced by an expert Sanskritist." Tale no. 5 "*Sudhana Avadāna*" is apparently derived from the *Divyāvadāna*, many variants of which I have discussed in a *Mikir Tale of the Swan Maiden Type and its Parallels* in the *Proceedings* of the Fourth Oriental Conference.

Now it is quite imaginable that the Buddha and his monks related homely stories for the edification of their hearers, some of them may not have been incorporated in the Pāli texts and commentaries as we have them in available editions, but might have been nevertheless preserved in Sanskrit -Buddhistic texts whose number was very great. The translation work into

2 Johannes Hertel—*On the Literature of the Śvetāmbars of Gujrat* (Leipzig, 1922) pp. 1-2.

3 Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, p. 15. Śākyabhikṣu—namo Buddhāya Kāpālikānamaḥ Kharapaṭāyeti vaktavyaṁ, yena Coraśāstraṃ praṇitaṃ. Athavā Kharapaṭādapy asminn adhikāre Buddha evādhikaḥ.

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Tibetan began during the reign of Sroṅ. btsan. sgam. po and was continued till the end of the 17th century A.D. Thousands of Sanskrit works not only connected with Buddhism but also secular were made available in Tibetan. The translations were literal and faithful, giving in Tibetan word-for-word Sanskrit equivalent. In them may be found the originals of those not identified by Mrs. Rhys Davids. Then again some tale which was current in India but which being unmoral or immoral was subsequently rejected by Buddhist Canonical editors was yet preserved in some secular (or even religious) Sanskrit work and was transported to Tibet, e.g. the tale of "the Clever Thief" in the *Tibetan Tales*. I have already indicated in my paper *The Story of a Fool and its Sanskrit and Buddhist Parallels*[1] the parallels of 46 stories of fools taken from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* in *Po-yu-king* of *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues* (being translation from Chinese Tripiṭakas by Dr. E. Chavannes) and *Les Avadanas* translated by Stanislas Julien. These stories do not seem to be found in Pāli edition yet they exist in Chinese version. A portion of a tale that I find in the Jaina Nandī-sūtra is absent in the Pāli version (Mahā-Ummaga Jāt. no. 546, also 402) viz. the incident of feeding a sheep without letting it wax fat, and is yet present in the latter's derivative—the Tibetan tale no. VIII, *Mahausadha and Visākha*, (*Kah-gyur*, vol. xi), it is also present in *Les Avadanas* translated by Julien.

I am giving below the summary of the above in a tabular form indicating the incidents by number already used:

1. Incidents of the story. 2. Jain-Nandī-sūtra (Goṇeghoḍaya). 3. Pāli Jātaka (Gāmaṇī-Caṇḍa). 4. Kathāsaritsāgara (Devabhūti). 5. Tibetan Tale no. 3 (Ādarśamukha). 6. Russian Tale, &c.

See annexed Table.

(To be continued)

KALIPADA MITRA

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The Stray Plate from Tirlingi: [Ganga?] Year 28

Tirlingi is a small hamlet in the Ganjam district of Madras and is situated close to the headquarters of the Tekkali *zemindari* in the same district. Some time in the year 1926 a woman residing in the village came upon a single inscribed sheet of copper by the side of an old well. Mr. Lingaraja Misra of Parasuramapuram secured the plate from her and passed the same on to my friend Pandit Satyanarayana Rajaguru of Parlakimedi who announced its discovery in a short illustrated paper.[1] The plate has since been acquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

I re-edit the record from a set of ink-impressions very kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Rajaguru.

The inscription, which is incomplete, is engraved on a single sheet of copper with plain edges. The plate measures 4½″ × 2″ and the weight is six tolas. Towards the proper left margin of the plate there is a ring-hole of about ¼″ in diameter. There is no ring or seal. The first (obverse) side of the plate shows some signs of deterioration in the opening lines; otherwise the record is in a state of perfect preservation. There are seven lines of writing in all, of which five appear on the first side and two on the other.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and generally resemble those of the Narasingapalli[2] (Year 79) and Urlam[3] (Year 80) Plates of Hastivarman, and the Godavari Plates of Pṛthivīmūla.[4]

There is nothing remarkable about the palaeography or orthography of the record.

The language is Sanskrit. There are two of the customary closing verses in Anuṣṭubh metre; the rest of the inscription is in prose.

The inscription, which is incomplete being the last plate of a set, records apparently the gift of some village or land. Both the donor and the donee must however remain unknown personalities until the rest of the inscription is found.

1 *JAHRS.*, III. 54 ff. and plates.
2 *EI.*, XXIII. 62 ff. and plates.
3 *Ibid.*, XVII. 330 ff. and plates.
4 *JBBRAS.*, XVI. 114 ff. and plates.

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The date, which is given in words only, is the Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī of the month of Phālguna of the Year 28 of 'the increasing regime' (*pravardhamāna-rājya-samvatsarasya*).

The writer as well as the engraver was Vinayacandra, son of Bhānucandra.

Mr. Rajaguru came in for some criticism and perhaps more injustice when he announced that the Tirlingi inscription was dated in the Year 28 (of the Gaṅga era). The illustrations of the plate now provided will substantiate Mr. Rajaguru's reading beyond any question.

The problem now at issue is to find an approximate date for the grant. Here, once for all, we have to depend entirely on such evidence as can be extracted from the fragmentary record itself. A fundamental fact which must be recognised at the outset is that the script clearly suggests association with the early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga. The style of the document is also very characteristic. On top of all this, we have the ubiquitous personality of Vinayacandra, son of Bhānucandra,—a remarkable figure in Indian epigraphy. The known quota of service put in by this apparently very able scribe works out already at twelve years (Gaṅga Years 79-91). And if we were again to associate him with the present record, Vinayacandra would have had a service of at least 63 years in the Gaṅga Court—a position which has rightly elicited[5] some scepticism. On the other hand, this position hardly improves if the Tirlingi Vinayacandra is taken to be the grandfather of the later and more famous Vinayacandra, or even if we were to think of a different reckoning of the era to which the year of the grant has to be referred.

Attempts to guess a donor for the grant have so far proved equally futile and the reading of the date now further widens the field of speculation. Professor R. Subba Rao thought[6] of Mitravarman of the Godavari Plates of Pṛthivīmūla. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, identified in effect[7] the unknown donor with Indravarman Rājasiṃha of the Achyutapuram,[8] Parlakimedi[9] and the Santa-Bommali[10] Plates and the late-lamented Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh shared[11] Dr. Bhandarkar's view.

5 *EI.*, XXIII. 63, f.n. 1.
6 *JAHRS.*, VI. 71.
7 *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 285, f.n. 1.
8 *EI.*, III. 127 f.
9 *IA.*, XVI. 131 ff.
10 *EI.*, XXV. 194 ff.
11 *JBORS.*, XX. 44 ff.

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In spite however of its fragmentary character, our record seems to be a genuine one. Mr. G. Ramadas's attempt,[12] therefore, to make out a case for a possible fabrication rests on no foundation.

In respect of the year mentioned, the Tirlingi inscription clearly antedates the Jirjingi Plates of Indravarman.[13] The evidence of palaeography generally points to somewhere between 450-525 A.D.

Text[14]

Obverse

1. m=para-dattām=vā (ttāṃ vā) yatnād=rakṣa Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ (ṣṭhira) ||*] mahīṃ mahimatāṃ
2. śreṣṭha dānāc=chrayo(chreyo)=nupālanaṃ (nam) [||1*] Saṣṭim=varṣa-sahasrā-
3. ṇi svargge modati [bhūmidaḥ] ||*| ākṣeptā c=ānumantā
4. ca tāny=eva narake vased-iti[15] pravardhamāna-rājya samba(mva)-
5. tsarasya aṣṭāviṅśatimasya[16] Phālguṇa(na)-Kṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṃ

Reverse

6. likhitam=utkīrṇṇaṃ c=edaṃ Bhānucandra-sūnunā
7. Vinayacandreṇ=eti(||)

R. K. Ghoshal

12 *JAHRS.*, III. 82 f; *EI.*, XXV. 196, f.n. 5. 13 *EI.*, XXV. 281 ff.

14 From ink-impressions. 15 Read *vaset* [||2*] *iti*.

16 Read °*viṃśati*°. Emendations so far suggested are *sitya-ashthaviti* (G. Ramadas, *JAHRS.*, III. 82-3), *asthaśitas.....=asya* (D. R. Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 285, f.n. 1), and *aṣṭāśiti* (J. C. Ghosh, *JBORS*, XX. 44-5). Incidentally, the form *aṣṭā-viṃśatima* itself is not wholly ungrammatical as one would be inclined to believe. Professor Buddhadeva Bhattacharya has very kindly drawn my attention to a verse occurring in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Caṇḍi* (xi. 37; Cf. *Śrī-śri-Caṇḍi*, ed. Panchanan Tarkaratna, Calcutta 1333 B.S.) which is a good instance in point: *Vaivasvate'ntare prāpte aṣṭāviṃśatime yuge/*.....Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa as well as Gopāla Cakravarti, however, frankly confess the obsolete and irregular nature of such a construction which they claim to find only in Vedic grammar(*Chāndasaḥ*). Gopāla, however, attempts a somewhat loose affiliation to current grammatical systems by deriving the word as *aṣṭāviṃśatiṃ māti iti*.

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STRAY PLATE FROM TIRLINGI: [GAṄGA?] YEAR 28

Obverse

Reverse

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Sanskrit Poet Ghanasyāma

Ghanaśyāma gives the date of his birth in the following verses:

लग्ने कोटे झषेष्वासन-दल-निचयौ भूज-केतू धनुर्ह-
र्यंशे काव्योऽथ नक्रे क्रिय-घट-कटकांशेषु सौम्येन-चन्द्राः ।
सौरिर्मेषे तुलांशे वृष-मिथुन-दले मैंहिकेयोऽथ जीवः
कौलीरे सिंहभागे ह्यलि धनु-नवमांशे यदीयोऽवतारः ॥

According to the Indian Astrological calculations, the year of Ghanaśyāma's birth is 1700 A.D. In many places[2] Ghanaśyāma himself says that he was the minister of Tukkoji I of Tanjore. Tukkoji ruled from 1729 to 1735. So it is evident that he became minister when he was 29 years old. That he survived Tukkoji is expressly stated in the *Nīlakaṇṭha-campū-saṃjīvanī*.[3] As he began to write books at a very early age, the extant record being a composition of his eighteenth year,[4] viz. the Yuddha-kāṇḍa, his literary activities must have continued from 1715 to 1750.

Though he resided in Tanjore as minister, he was a native of Mahārāṣṭra.[5]

His family

Ghanaśyāma was the son of Mahādeva and Kāśī.[6] His elder brother was Īśa[7] who appears to have assumed the name Cidambara Brahmacārin in

1 Verse 4, Introduction to the *Uttara-Rāma-carita-vyākhyā* of Ghanaśyāma.

2 See *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-ṭippaṇa*, Ms. No. 4309 of Serfoji Maharaja's Library. Introductory verses; *Bhārata-campū-saṃjīvanī*, v. 5, etc.

3 आयुः किं शरदां सहस्रमथ किं दैवेन यद्दीयते

4 Introduction to *Rāmāyaṇa-campū*, Yuddha-kāṇḍa, Ms. 4143-45 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoji's Sanskrit Mss. Library.

5 Colophon to the first act of the *Prabodha-candrodaya*.

6 The first two lines of the verse

यस्येशोऽग्रभवः पिता किल महादेवः स काशीप्रसूः
साधुः श्रेयसि सुन्दरी प्रियतमा शाकम्भरी च स्वसा

appear in all the books written by him in the early stage of his life. The third and fourth lines of this verse are suitably altered in his works; e.g. Yuddha-kāṇḍa Mss. 4143-45 of Tanjore Sanskrit Mss. Library; *Madana-saṃjīvana*, Mss. 4587-4588, *op. cit.*, etc.

7 See the above footnote.

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his later life when he became an ascetic. Ghanaśyāma[8] as well as Sundarī and Kamalā refer to him most respectfully in their works.[9] They had great admiration for his learning. Cidambara used to live, while an ascetic, at Devīpāṣāṇa or Navapāṣāṇa in the temple of Mahiṣāsura-mardinī near Rāmeśvara.[10] Sākambharī was his sister.

Sundarī was his first wife. Only her name is mentioned in all the works until he married Kamalā or Kamalajā; e.g. in the Yuddha-kāṇḍa which he composed when he was only 18:—

तेनाष्टादशवत्सरेण कविना चौरुडाजिपन्तेन च
श्रीमानारचितश्चिराय जयतु श्रीयुद्धकाण्डो मुदा ।

and in the *Madana-saṃjīvana* as well as the *Kumāra-vijaya* that were composed when he was only twenty years of age:—

सप्ताष्टोक्ति-लिपि-प्रभुर्गुणनिधिश्चौरुडाजि-बालाजि-सत्-
पौत्रो यो विभुरब्द-विंशति-मितश्चौरुडाजिपन्तः कविः ॥

So there is no doubt that Ghanaśyāma and Sundarī were married at a very young age. As it is only likely that Sundarī was younger in age than Ghanaśyāma, she was born about 1705 A.D.

Kamalā's name appears in those works only in which Ghanaśyāma refers to himself as the minister of Tukkoji and also claims to have composed 53 or even more books; e.g. (1) *Bhārata-campū-saṃjīvanī*, v. 5; (2) Introduction to *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-ṭippaṇa;* and (3) Colophon to Act I of *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī.*

The *Caṇḍānurañjana* also notices the name of Kamalajā but the reading in the MS. referring to the poet's age is hopelessly lost.[11] As such Kamalā must have been married to Ghanaśyāma when he was 29 years old, if not earlier. As about two hundred years ago it was customary in India to give girls in marriage at an early age, the difference in age between Ghanaśyāma and Kamalā must have, however, been great. The *Caṇḍānurañjana* is probably the earliest work of Ghanaśyāma in which the name of Kamalā is recorded.

8 *Cidambarīya* mentioned in p. 18, l. 19, probably refers to a particular work of Cidambara Paramhaṃsa. See also p. 47, l. 17, महाराष्ट्रग्रथ, etc.

9 P. 25, l. 10; see also f.n. 8.

10 वन्दे ब्रह्मपरं, etc.

11 *Vide* Ms. No. 7400 of the India Office Library.

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Ghanaśyāma's fondness for both Sundarī and Kamalā is, however, manifest from his writings. They used to ask him about the nature of Sarasvatī:—

केयं दीप्तिरयैष कः परिमलः किं शिंजितं का मृदु
व्रीडेऽसाविति सुन्दरी-कमलयोः प्रश्नस्य या भाजनम् ।
दीप्रा काऽपि तटिल्लतेव पुरतोऽपह्राय दृश्या च या
ब्रह्माणं जहती विभाति मयि सा वाग्देवता पातु वः ॥

(v. 3, Introduction to *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā*).

Ghanaśyāma also pays a tribute to their talents in one of the introductory verses of the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala-saṃjīvanī*:—

प्रेयस्योर्मम सुन्दरी-कमलयोः कण्ठद्वये शोभताम्, etc. (v. 18).

Ghanaśyāma's father's father was Cauṇḍa Bālāji of the Bhārgava family and mother's father was Timmaji Bālāji of the Kauṇḍinya Gotra.[12] Ghanaśyāma had two sons, Candraśekhara and Govardhana by name. The former commented upon his father's work *Ḍamaruka*[13] and the latter who was blind commented upon the *Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya*.[14] If Govardhana, son of Ghanaśyāma be identical with the author of the *Vedānta-cintāmaṇi*, then Ghanaśyāma as well as his family must be reckoned as great admirers of Vallabha Ācārya.[15] Govardhana also wrote a commentary called *Vedānta-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa* on his *Vedānta-cintāmaṇi*.[16]

Ghanaśyāma was a worshipper of the Pañcāyatana-devatā and pays homage to almost all the celebrated gods and goddesses. He offers his prayers to Śiva in the first two verses of the *Ḍamaruka* and the first verse of the *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya-campū;* to Durgā, in the fifth verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī* and in the second verse of the *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya-saṃjīvanī*, to Sarasvatī in the third verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī*

12 *Caṇḍānurañjana*, Ms. No. 7400 of the India Office Library:—

यस्येशोऽप्रभवः पिता, etc.

See also colophon to Act I of the *Prabodhacandrodaya-ṭikā*.

13 घनश्यामस्य सुमहाकवि-शब्दजुषः, etc.

Mss. 3793-3797 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoji's Sanskrit Mss. Library. This commentary has not as yet been published.

14 निज-जनक-घनश्यामं,

15 See *Notices*, Ms. No. 3016; *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Benares Sanskrit College*, Allahabad 1888, Ms. No. 419.

16 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Private Libraries of North-West Frontier Province*, Part I, Benares, 1874, Ms. No. 278.

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and the second verse of the *Dhātu-koṣa;* and to Gaṇeśa in the first verses of *Bhārata-campū-saṃjīvanī* and the *Dhātu-koṣa*. The supreme soul is eulogised in the first verse of the *Campū-Rāmāyaṇa,* Cidambara in the first verse of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā,* Kṛṣṇa in the second verse of the *Caṇḍānurañjana* and Keśava or Paraśiva in the first verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvana*. Odaneśa, Ghṛteśvara and Santānagopāla are offered homage in the 4th verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī;* and Gaṇeśa, Nārāyaṇa and Śiva in the first introductory verse of the commentary *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-vyākhyā*. The implicit faith of the poet in the doings and outstanding powers of Nine Planets is the subject-matter of his work *Nava-graha-carita* and the first three verses form indeed an excellent *stuti* of the Nava-grahas. The Advaita-vāda, however, appears to have attracted him most. He says he is a Paṭhīna fish in the ambrosial ocean of the Advaita philosophy;[17] this is also clear from his undertaking the composition of two works on the same school of thought.[18]

Works of Ghanaśyāma

Ghanaśyāma claims to have composed works in various languages—Sanskrit, Prakrit as well as vernaculars. Thus in his commentary on the *Nīlakaṇṭha-campū* he says he composed 64 works in Sanskrit, 20 in Prakrit and 25 in vernaculars. Fortunately, Ghanaśyāma himself refers to his works on many occasions and Sundarī and Kamalā too refer to many of them. Here is given a subject-index of the works which are thus known. Unfortunately, the works are mostly lost to us and the subjects too are not specifically clear in every case. The names of the works, the quotations from or references to them, etc., help us in determining the subjects and the approximate result thus obtained is exhibited below.

Dramas of various sorts:—

(1) Nāṭaka:

(a) *Nava-graha-carita,* consisting of three prapañcas. This drama deals with the legends relating to the nine grahas:

17 भगवत्पाद-प्रतिष्ठापिताद्वैत-सुधा colophon to the first Act of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī.*

18 See the list of his works below.

19 संस्कृते या चतुःषष्टिसंख्या, etc.

20 Ms. No. 4689 of Tanjore Mss. Library (not published as yet).

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(a) *Trimaṭī*-nāṭakas.[21]
(b) *Kumāra-vijaya* in five Acts.[22]
(c) *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya;* for references, see *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya-dīpikā* below.[23]

(2) Saṭṭaka:
(a) *Vaikuṇṭha-carita,* with commentary.
(b) *Ānandasundarī-saṭṭaka.*[24] This work deals with the marriage of Ānandasundarī the heroine.
One Saṭṭaka without its name given.[25]

(3) Bhāṇa:
(a) One without a specific name given.[26]

(4) Prahasana:
(a) *Ḍamaruka,* with commentary.[27]
(b) *Caṇḍānurañjana.*[28] This work records the names of the *Anyāpadeśa-śataka, Saḍ-bhāṣā-kāvya* and a few other works only:—

षट्षड्भाषा-काव्यं नाटक-भाणौ च सट्टकं चम्पूः ।
अन्यापदेश-शतकं रचितं येनाशु खेलेन ॥

It was as such probably one of the early works of Ghanaśyāma. One Prahasana is also referred to without name.[29]

(5) Ḍima: (a) Name not mentioned.[30]
(6) Vyāyoga: (a) Name not mentioned.[31]
(7) Nāṭikā: (a) *Anubhava-cintāmaṇi.*[32]

21 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī.*
22 Mss. 4344-4345 of Tanjore Mss. Library; India Office Ms. No. 4180.
23 *Op. cit.*
24 Ms. 4681 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Mss. Library. In this library, there is also a Ms. of a commentary on the same by Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin; India Office Library, Ms. No. 7398.
25 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī,* v. 6.
26 *Op. cit.,* v. 5.
27 Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Author-index, p. 12.
28 Ms. No. 7400 of the India Office Library; Tanjore Mss. Library, Ms. No. 4629.
29 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇi,* v. 8.
30 *Op. cit.*
31 *Op. cit.*
32 *Op. cit.,* v. 13.

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B Poetical Compositions: —

(a) *Prākṛta-kāvya*[33]
(b) *Saṃskṛta-kāvya*.[33]
(c) *Āryā-bandha-kāvya*, a sama-Prākṛta-kāvya.[34]
Aṣṭapadī-padas, etc. in various languages.[35]
(d) *Bhāratī-vijaya-kāvya*, series of 18 acrostic poems.[36]
(e) *Prasaṅga-līlārṇava*.[37]
(f) *Saṇ-maṇi-maṇḍana*.

C Anthology:

(a) *Anyāpadeśa-sahasra*.[38]
(b) *Anyāpadeśa-śataka*.[39]
(c) *Śabda-rañjana*.[40]

D Campū-kāvyas:

(a) *Rāmāyaṇa-campū* (only the Yuddha-kāṇḍa available).[41]
(b) *Bhāgavata-campū*, with commentary.[42]
(c) *Nala-campū*
(d) *Hariscandra-campū* } with double entendre.[43]

E Grammatical works: —

(a) *Saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*.[44]
(b) *Prākṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*.[45]
(c) *Śābdika-modana*.[46]
(d) *Dhātu-koṣa*.[47]

F Rhetoric:

(a) *Rasārṇava*.[48]

G Philosophy:

(a) *Dvaita-bhañjana*.[49]
(b) *Advaita-bodha*.[50]

H Sthala-māhātmyas:

(a-e) Five; names not known.[51]

I Biography:

(a) *Bhagavatpāda-carita*.[52]

33 काव्ये प्राकृत-संस्कृते। I v. 7, Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*.

34 *Op. cit.*, v. 11

35 See colophons to the commentaries of the *Prabodha-candrodaya*, etc.; also *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*, Introduction, v. 16.

36 India Office, 1744, No. 3962. Here Ghanaśyāma uses the appelatives Vaśyavacas, Sarvajña and Sarasvati.

37 V. 7, Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*.

38 Ms. No. 3889 of Tanjore Mss. Library.

39 *Op. cit.*, v. 8.

40 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*, v. 8.

41 Mss. 4143-4145 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Sanskrit Mss. Library.

42 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*, v. 11, p. 5.

43 *Op. cit.*, v. 12.

44 Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit manuscripts in Southern India*, No. III, Madras Govt. Press, 1905, Ms. No. 1569. See also *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*, Introd. v. 6.

45 *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*, v. 6.

46 *Op. cit.*, v. 9.

47 Ms. No. 5703 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Sanskrit Mss. Library, *Not printed*.

48 V. 12, *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*, Introduction.

49 *Op. cit.*, v. 9.

50 *Op. cit.*, v. 13.

51 स्थल-माहात्म्य-पञ्चकम्, v. 16, *op. cit.*

52 V. 12, Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*.

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J Commentaries:

(1) On prose works:
  (a) *Daśa-kumāra-carita-ṭippaṇa.*[53]
  (b) *Vāsavadattā-vyākhyā.*[54]
  (c) *Kādambarī-vyākhyā.*[55]

(2) On poetical works:
  (a) *Gāthā-sapta-śatī-vyākhyā.*[56]
  (b) *Rākṣasa-paddhati vyākhyā.*[57]
  (c-f) Commentaries on the *Prākṛta-kāvya, Saṃskṛta-kāvya, Prasaṅga-līlārṇava* and *Saṇmaṇi-maṇḍana.*[58]

(3) On Dramas:
  (a) *Viddha-śālabhañjikā-vyākhyā Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā.*
  (b) *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā.*[59]
  (c) *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-saṃjīvana.*[60]
  (d) *Uttara-Rāma-carita-saṃjīvana.*[61]
  (e) *Vikramorvaśīya-vyākhyā.*[62]
  (f) *Veṇī-saṃhāra-vyākhyāna.*[63]
  (g) *Mahāvira-carita-vyākhyā.*[64]
  (h) *Caṇḍa-kauśika-vyākhyā.*[65]
  (i) *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya-dīpikā.*[66] commentary of *Pracaṇḍa rāhūdaya.*[67]

Ghanaśyāma himself refers to this work in the following verse:—

प्रबोध-चन्द्रोदय-सेर्ष-जात-सङ्कल्प-सूर्योदय-शोण-दृष्टेः ।
प्रचण्ड-राहूदय-कर्तुरेष वाभात्यहो श्मश्रुणि यस्य हस्तः ॥

The original is not extant but a commentary of it is still preserved in Tanjore Manuscripts Library (No. 4388). It is complete and extends over two sheets only, with 17 lines to a page. The colophon to the Ms. shows that the work consisted of 5 acts only.

(4) On Campūs:
  (a) *Bhoja-campū-vyākhyā.*[68]
  (b) *Bhārata-campū-vyākhyā.*[69]
  (c) *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya-campū-vyākhyā.*[70]
  (d) *Bhāgavata-campū-vyākhyā.*[71]

53 Mss. 4006-4007 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Mss. Library.
54 *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇi*, Introd., v. 16.
55 *Op. cit.*
56 *Op. cit.*, v. 15.
57 *Op. cit.*
58 एषां व्याख्या etc. v. 8, Introd., to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī.*
59 Mss. 4407-4408 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Mss. Library.
60 Mss. 4309-4311 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoji's Mss. Library.
61 Mss. 4333-4334 of Tanjore Library. Also Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library. Author-index, p. 12; see also Hulzsch's *Report*, vol. III.
62-65 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*, vv. 14-15.
66-67 See introduction to the commentaries by Ghanaśyāma mentioned here.
68-69 *Op. cit.*, v. 14; also quoted in the *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇi.*
70 Ms. 4059 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoji's Mss. Library.
71 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇi*, v. 11.

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K Miscellaneous:

(a) *Gaṇeśa-carita.*
(b) *Kali-dūṣaṇa.*
(c) *Jātisantarjana.*
(d) *Varṇa-mālā.*
(e) *Ambā-vijaya.*
(f) *Doṣākara.*
(g) *Kukavi-santāpana.*
(h) *Guṇākara.*
(i) *Abodhākara.*[72]

The *Kali-dūṣaṇa* really forms the second Act of the *Ḍamaruka Prahasana* of our poet; the *Kukavi-santāpana* the fourth; the *Abodhākara* the fifth and the *Jāti-santarjana* the eighth. Sundarī and Kamalā, however, in their introductory verses in the commentary on the *Viddha-śālabhañjikā* treat these as separate works. These sections really hang very loosely in the work and it appears as though they were also separately treated.

At page 904 of the India Office Library Catalogue, I put under the name of Ghanaśyāma Bhaṭṭa *Madhurāṣṭaka-vivṛti-ṭippaṇī* as well. Though Ghanaśyāma was eminently an adherent of the Advaita school as his works on philosophy mentioned above show and as is also clear from his own statement "भगवत्पाद-प्रतिष्ठापिताद्वैत-सुधा-समुद्राटन-महापाठीनेन" in the colophon to the first Act of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī*, it is not unlikely that he got interested in the Śuddhādvaita school as well. Ghanaśyāma's *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* and consequently, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*—can also reasonably be ascribed to him. Unfortunately, neither the vivṛti-ṭippaṇī nor the Bhāgavata is at present accessible to me and therefore, no further investigation about the genuineness of the ascriptions is possible at the moment. But the authorship of the other works mentioned above is undisputable.

Apart from composing all the above-mentioned works, our poet also took delight in composing many short poems, 4 thousand songs and various other literary works.[73] It is clear that he did not waste a single moment of his life; the literary output he has left behind him is indeed enormous. The major portion of it is lost; and the remnant, too, is not generally known as nothing but the *Ḍamaruka* and the *Uttara-Rāma-carita-vyākhyā* have as yet been published.

Ghanaśyāma as a writer.

That Ghanaśyāma was a precocious person cannot be doubted. His earliest extant work is the *Dhātu-kośa*.[74] In verse No. 8 of its introduction,

72 *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*, introduction.
73 Colophon to Act I of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī*.
74 Ms. No. 5703 of Tanjore Mss. Library.

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he pleads for the pardon of the learned on the score of his being a young student, still a kiśoraka.[75] Though even at this stage he does not fight shy to criticise an author of the standing of Amarasiṃha,[76] still he recognises here the authority of several scholars and his indebtedness to them[77] and in the judgment of the reading public.[78] While still a 'Bālaka,' a mere boy,—as he more specially says in the concluding part of the same work, really at the age of eighteen[80]—he composed the *Rāmāyaṇa-campū*. He composed the Bhāṇa *Madana-saṃjīvana* when he was twenty.[81] The reading अर्ध-विंशति in the Ms. of the *Madana-saṃjīvana*, No. 1679 of Hulzsch's *Report*, is evidently wrong; it is really अब्दविंशति as the Tanjore Ms. shows. In the *Madana-saṃjīvana* itself, the poet refers to his previous work composed at the age of eighteen.[82] The poet also composed the *Kumāra-vijayanāṭaka* dealing with the story of God Subrahmaṇya in the same year.[83] The poet himself announced that the *Anyāpadeśa-śataka*, only a defective copy of which is extant to-day and is preserved in Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Mss. Library, is his fourth book.[84] The *Ḍamaruka* was his eighth book[85] composed at the age of 22. A Ms. of it is preserved in Madras Govt. Mss. Library[87] and a commentary on it by the son of the poet exists in

75 तेषां ता कलिका एव, etc.

76 Introductory verses 10 and 11 of the *Dhātu-kośa;* see also verse 13.

77 Introd. v. 19 of the *Dhātu-kośa-* प्राचां प्राञ्चि etc. See also verses 6, 7 and 8a.

78 Verse 129.

79 Ms. No. 1981, Hulzsch's *Report*, vol. III—Introductory part of *Rāmāyaṇa-campū*,—

चौण्डाबालाजिपौत्रो यतिवर-दयया बालकोऽपि प्रधीरः ।

80 Ms. No. 4143-45 of Tanjore. तेनाष्टादश-वत्सरेण कविना,

81 Hulzsch's *Report*, Mss. 1682 and 1679—...०र्धविंशतिमितश्चौण्डाजिपंतः कविः

82 Hulzsch's *Report*, vol. III, Ms. No. 1681, Tanjore Library, Mss. 4587-4588:—

किं युद्धकाण्ड-नाम्न श्चम्पू-काव्यस्य प्रणेता घनश्यामकविः ॥ etc.

83 Ms. 4344 of Tanjore— पौत्रोऽयं विभुरब्दविंशति-मितः चौण्डाजिपन्तः कविः ।

The work is also called ब्रह्मानन्द-विजयः ; see the concluding verse.

84 Ms. No. 3889; 'आख्यात-प्रतिवस्तु-पद्ययुगला सेयं चतुर्ग्रन्थवतः' ।

85 Concluding verse of the *Ḍamaruka:* जीयाच्च.....महाकविरसावष्ट-प्रबन्धेश्वरः ॥

86 One of the Prastāvanā verses of the *Ḍamaruka:*...

.....द्वयवादि पङ्क-मिहिरो द्वाविंश-वर्षान्वितः ।

87 Ms. No. D. 12519. The work is complete in 10 Alaṃkāras, viz.

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Tanjore Mss. Library.[88] In his tenth book, the *Saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*,[89] Ghanaśyāma gives the names of his previous works *Saṇmaṇi-maṇḍana* and its bhāṣya, one Nāṭaka *Kumāra-vijaya* and one bhāṇa *Madana-saṃjīvana*, one Saṭṭaka *Ānandasundarī* and the Prahasana *Ḍamaruka* where also the same works are mentioned.[90] In his eighth work *Ḍamaruka* he identifies himself with Sarasvatī[91] and in the tenth the *Saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*, he speaks of his title Kaṇṭhīrava for the first time.[92] He also gives his name as Āryaka in the *Ḍamaruka*.[93] The *Navagraha-carita* was his eleventh book and was composed when he was still 22.[94] As the *Ḍamaruka*, his 8th book, was composed in his 22nd year and the *Navagrahacarita* too at that time, the ninth work which cannot be ascertained at present as well as the tenth, viz. the *Saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*, must have been composed in the same year. The *Caṇḍānurañjana* Prahasana was composed at an early part of his life as Ghanaśyāma mentions here only the *Saḍbhāṣā-kāvya*, one Nāṭaka. one Bhāṇa, one Saṭṭaka. one Campū, and the *Anyāpadeśa-śataka*. The Ānandasundarī Saṭṭaka, Mss. of which are preserved in the Tanjore Mss. Library[96] as well as the India office Library[97] must also be an early composition of the author as it is against his nature to remain silent about earlier works. Of the extant commentaries of Ghanaśyāma on dramas, the earliest is the *Bhārata-campū-saṃjīvanī*, it being the 53rd work of the author. In v. 13 and in the colophon to Act I of the *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā*, he boasts as being the author of 53 works and therefore the next commentary by him must have been the *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā*. It was composed

राजानुरञ्जन, कलिदूषण, सुकवि-सञ्जीवन, कुकवि-सन्तापन, अबोधाकर, शाब्दिक-भञ्जन, पण्डित-खण्डन, जाति-संतर्जन, प्रभु-वर्णन and अखण्डानन्द ।

88 See Tanjore Catalogue, Nāṭaka volume.

89 पटु-षड्-भाषा-काव्यं नाटकभाणौ च सट्टकं चम्पूः ।
अन्यापदेश-शतकं प्रहसनमपि येन लीलया ग्रथितम् ॥

90 Ms. No. 1569, Hulzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Mss. in Southern India*, No. III, Madras, Govt. Press, 1905, concluding verse, last line.

चिरं जयतु मत्कविर्भुवि दशप्रबन्धीकरः ॥

91 सरस्वती घनश्यामो, etc.

92 कण्ठीरव-घनश्याम कविना, etc.

93 Colophon : सुरनीरपण्डित-घनश्याम-नामक आर्यको, etc.

94 End of the work : --नवग्रहा भूरि नमो वः etc.

95 Ms. No. 4629 of Tanjore Mss. Library.

96 Ms. No. 4681 of Tanjore Library.

97 Ms. No. 7398.

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when Ghanaśyāma was above 50. The *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā* has been referred to in his other commentaries and is, therefore, one of the earliest commentaries composed by him. The *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-saṃjīvana* is expressly stated to be his 63rd work. The *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā* of Ghanaśyāma refers to the *Śakuntala-saṃjīvanī* and other commentaries and also to the author's *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya-dīpikā*. The *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī* is his 64th work. As Ghanaśyāma addresses his *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā* as the daughter of the author of 64 works, it is evident that Ghanaśyāma undertook the execution of this commentary immediately after the composition of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvana*. The *Nīlakaṇṭha-campū-vyākhyā* was composed when Ghanaśyāma's patron Tukkoji was no longer living. This appears to be one of his latest work if not the very last one. Here, too, he does not forget to vindicate his antagonists whenever he can, though he necessarily sighs for his great patron.

From the above survey, it is clear that Ghanaśyāma devoted the early part of his life to making original compositions whereas he dedicated the later part of his life to commenting upon various dramas and kāvyas. Though Ghanaśyāma usually writes in a very heavy style as is evident from the introductory verses of the *Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*, *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-saṃjīvana*, *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā*, etc. the double entendres, alliterations etc. in his verses are not devoid of interests. Some of his verses are indeed very attractive.

Ghanaśyāma proves annoying for two reasons, viz. (1) lack of chronological sense and (2) extreme self-conceit. It is curious how he could drag down Kālidāsa from the Gupta period to the fourteenth century A.D. and make him a contemporary of Māyaṇa and his son Sāyaṇa. In the *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-vyākhyā*, Ms. No. 4309 of Tanjore Mss. Library, he says:—

अथ सायण-मायणादि-पुरातन-कवि-समान-कालिको भाग्य-निमित्त-वशात् कामुकराज-कन्योपदेशेन श्यामला-देवी-लिखित-बीजाक्षर-रसज्ञः कालिदासकविः.....मङ्गलमाचरति ।

Again, Ghanaśyāma makes Bhavabhūti a contemporary of Kālidāsa and a protégé of Bhojarāja.[98]

98 अथ कालिदासादि-समानकालिको भाजराजाश्रयः श्रीकण्ठ-नामा 'साम्बा पुनातु भवभूति-पवित्र-मूर्तिः' इति श्लोकनिर्माणावेलागुण-वशादानन्द-भरितेन राज्ञैव भवभूतिरिति स्थापितः कविः । *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā*. Ms. No. 4333-4334 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaja's Mss. Library. See also Ms. of *Daśa-kumāra-carita-ṭippaṇa*, No. 4006 of

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Ghanaśyāma was conceited enough even in his early teens when he did not fail to criticise an outstanding authority like Amarasiṃha in his *Dhātu-koṣa* as we have noticed before. In the *Navagraha-carita* composed at the age of twenty-two, he says he would compose something that others cannot and that would simply be wonderful:—

यदन्य-कवि-दुर्लभं यदपि संविधानोद्भवं
कुतूहलकरं जगत्यनुभवैक-वेद्यं च यत्।
तदस्मदतिविस्मयावहमनेक-वस्तूज्ज्वलं
नवं किमपि चिन्त्यतामिति नव-ग्रहाणां मनः॥

In the *Caṇḍānurañjana,*[99] he boasts that the composition of the *Saḍbhāṣā kāvya, Anyāpadeśa-śataka,* etc. were nothing but a sport to him:—

पटु षड्भाषाकाव्यं नाटक-भाणौ च सट्टकं चम्पूः।
अन्यापदेश-शतकं रचितं येनाशु खेलेन॥

and his poetical excellence could not but please all:—

कलशाम्भोधि-कल्लोल-गर्व-सर्वस्व-हारिणी। घनश्यामकवेर्वाणी कस्य नानन्ददायिनी॥

He could not but think that others would capitalise the vast store of his vocabulary and prayed to Durgā for helping him in getting rid of them even by means of their total destruction. In an almost identical language with that of Bhavabhūti, he declared outright that he was conscious that there were only few who could understand him, if at all; his compositions were ambrosial seas that could hardly be drunk dry. Even Kālidāsa himself was no match for him—unfortuante Kālidāsa who had to his credit only ten works.[100] Only Raṅgarājādhvarin Mahopādhyāya, Bhoja and others could realise that he and Sarasvatī were not different; they were simply identical. Even the great Veṅkaṭanātha Vedāntācārya, author of the *Saṃkalpa-sūryodaya* and many other notable works, was no match for him.[101] He had no respect for the commentaries of anybody else than only two, viz. Mallināṭha and Appaya Dīkṣita; others were simply incompetent and managed to keep silent whenever any diffiulty arose.[102] The

Tanjore Mss. Library:—अथ भोजराज-सभायां कालिदासभवभूति-प्रमुखवदखिलमाननीयो बाण इव कादम्बरी-संज्ञां दशकुमार-चरिताख्यां प्रहेलिकां रचयिष्यन्, etc.

99 Ms. No. 7400 of the India Office Library.

100 *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā*, v. 8.

101 Mss. 4407-4408 of Tanjore Mss. Library, *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā* introductory verses 12 & 13:

102 *Bhārata-campū-vyākhyā*:- सन्त्यज्याप्ययदीक्षितं etc.

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way in which he lets the audience know his name Caṇḍāji and epithets Sarvajña Kavi and Kaṇṭhīrave is very queer and necessarily means bad taste.[103]. He mentions his titles Sarvajña, Vaśyavacas and Sarasvatī in the colophon to each Act of the dramas he comments upon[104] and also in his *Bhāratī-camatkāra-kāvya*.[105] He does not miss the opportunity to play a fun upon his name Ghanaśyāma for eulogising self.[106]

One seldom comes across a commentator like Ghanaśyāma who has nothing but contempt for the authors of works he comments upon. He looks down upon Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara, Kṛṣṇa Miśra, etc. as they were the authors of a few works only.[107] He thinks he does them a great favour by commenting upon their works; the credit of making them immortal is due to him.

His vanity is, thus, really responsible for wrong criticisms in many places in his commentaries. The grammatical accuracies which he questions at times are not really questionable.

He makes also irresponsible or wrong statements at times. He makes a positive mistake when he says that Rājaśekhara wrote only three works; because Rājaśekhara himself says in his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*[108] that he had already composed 6 works. Not less than 5 works are known to exist even to-day, viz. the *Karpūra-mañjarī*, the *Pracaṇḍa-pāṇḍava*, the *Bāla-bhārata*, the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*, the *Viddha-śālabhañjikā*, and the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* refers to another work of Rājaśekhara, viz., the *Hara-vilāsa*.

Ghanaśyāma expresses pride by stating that he was capable of composing commentaries within a few hours even when he was fasting. Thus he says, he began as well as completed the *Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* during the

103 सूचकः—प्रिये सर्वज्ञ-कविना ? etc.

104 E.g. वश्यवचः-सर्वज्ञ-सरस्वती-नामत्रय-मण्डितेन घनश्याम-पण्डितेन.....प्रथमोऽङ्कः ।

105 India Office Ms. No. 3962.

106 तनुरुचि यो न श्यामः कविः etc.

107 E.g. as Kṛṣṇa Miśra is known to have been the author of a single work, he says in his commentary on the *Prabodha-candrodaya*:—

एकग्रन्थकरस्य हन्त भणितिं मिश्रस्य स व्याकरो-
त्यार्योक्तीरवतंसयन् भुवि घनश्यामः कवीनां कविः ॥

108 V. 12, प्रस्तावना—'विद्धि नः षट् प्रबन्धान्'

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fourth prahara of the Śivarātri;[109] he completed the *Śakuntala-saṃjīvana* while keeping awake during the Bhīṣmaikādaśī night.

He was again very proud of his knowledge of languages. About Rājaśekhara, he has a very poor opinion; Rājaśekhara knew only Sanskrit and Prakrit whereas he knows all the languages.

All these obnoxious statements are bound to elicit resentful statements as those of Vāñceśvara Sudhī *alias* Kuṭṭi Kavi in his *Mahiṣa-śataka*,[110] p. 21 of J. Vidyāsāgara's ed.:—

नानाजि-प्रभु-शाहजीन्द्र-शरभेन्द्रानन्दरायादयो
विद्वांसः प्रभवो गताः श्रित-सुधीसन्दोहजीवातवः ।
विद्यायां विषबुद्धयो हि वृषलाः सभ्यास्त्विदानींतनाः
किं कुर्वेऽम्ब कृषे व्रजामि शरणं त्वामेव विश्वावनीम् ॥

This verse at once shows that Vāñceśvara was a junior contemporary of Ānandarāya Makhin and others, of whom he was an ardent admirer; he was a senior contemporary of Ghanaśyāma whom he appears to rebuke by the epithet Vṛṣala in the above.

Ghanaśyāma as the author of the Prāṇapratiṣṭhā.

The *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā* of Ghanaśyāma is a short commentary on the *Viddha-śālabhañjika*. It takes into account only a few words and ignores the rest as he professes to do in the introductory verse no. 14. Usually he gives the Sanskrit rendering of all the Prakrit passages and verses and comments upon a few Prakrit words as well. The variant readings that he interprets add much to his credit as a commentator. The sūtras of Prakrit grammar quoted in the *Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* are mostly traced in the *Prākṛta-prakāśa*.

109 शिवरात्रि-चतुर्थ-यामारब्ध, *bhañjikā* with the commentary *Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*.

110 Vāñceśvara himself composed in Benares a commentary on his *Mahiṣa-śataka*, also called *Śleṣārtha-candrikā*, consisting of 162 verses. The Ms. is dated 1735 Śaka i.e. 1813-14 A.D.:—

बाणाग्न्यद्रीन्दु-प्रमिते शाक-काले सुधीमुदे ।
भूयाद्वाञ्छेश्वर-कृता व्याख्या श्लेषार्थ-चन्द्रिका ॥

He also pays tribute in his commentary to his Gurus Viśveśa Śrīnivāsa Ārya as well as Ahobala.

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Sometimes he cleverly justifies the uses of Rājaśekhara; e.g. the singular number in दृशा in verse 2, act 1;[111] the stage direction ततः प्रविशति हरदासः immediately after the प्रस्तावना ;[112] metrical use of महरट्टि[113]; णच्चावी अदु[114] a desī word; शस in the particular context in v. 43, p. 73;[115] जामादुअस्स for जामाअरस्स[116]; वारंवारेण[117] पिण्ड in primary sense;[118] sandhi in तत्स्थाणु ;[119] use of the plural number for singular in वयंतत्त्वज्ञो[120] etc. But very often he ridicules Rājaśekhara for his lack of knowledge; e.g. he declares uses like प्रातस्त्य in l. 3, v. 12, p. 12, अक्खरावली in l. 2. p. 68, etc. as absolutely wrong.

In the *Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā,* he refers to his Kumāravijaya, *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya, Veṅkaṭeśa-carita,* the commentaries of dramas and other works like the *Cidambarīya.*[121] In several places in the commentary he points out that Rājaśekhara used occasionally Sanskritized Marathi phrases and proverbs.[122]

Ghanaśyāma's genius was defiled by his excessive self-conceit. His verses are at times horrible. In his early work, he had a decent style; but the older he grew, the more pedantic his style turned out to be. His commentaries deserve praise; but his criticisms are at times meaningless or simply exhibit his pride. His ways of referring to great poets like Kālidāsa by such obscure names as Īśvarakṛṣṇa or Bhartṛmīḍha are puzzling. But it may be said to his credit that he has a style of his own in his commentaries; one who has thoroughly studied one of his commentaries would at once recognise his other commentaries. The authorities quoted are mostly the same; and the tendency to look down upon or criticise even the greatest poets is ludicrously manifest throughout. His great learning is displayed in all the commentaries, particularly through numerous quotations. He richly deserves the epithet Koṣāvalīvallabha which he applies to himself in verse 5 of the Introduction to the *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā.* His explanations of the variant readings are copious and interesting too.

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111 p. 12.
112 p. 18.
113 p. 46, ll. 18-20.
114 l. p. 69.
115 l. 5.
116 l. 7. p. 84.
117 v. t. p. 95.
118 l. 4. v. 22. p. 112.
119 l. 23, p. 150.
120 l. 13. p. 162.
121 See p. 18.
122 E.g. एवं वर्णयता कविना स्वस्य महाराष्ट्रत्वं प्रकटीकृतम्, etc.: p. 138. l. 18.

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Provincial Government under the Memeluke Sultans of Delhi

The Ghuride conquest of Northern India can hardly be described as complete or the outcome of a definite military plan, conceived and executed by one single mind within a specified time. It was the work rather of adventurers of the Turkish race, set in motion by the shifting of population in Central Asia, consequent upon, and which therefore presaged, the eruption of the Mongols from the uplands of Tartary. In its absence of programme and design the 13th century Turkish conquest can well be compared with the British expansion in the 18th century. The process continued for generations and the government that was established in Delhi reflected, in the looseness of its structure and improvisations, the continuity of military action. Not till a new dynasty was established in the person of the Khaljis did these experiments crystallise into a system and a centralised state come into being.

Implicit in the circumstances of its existence was therefore the peculiar nature of the provincial administration which functioned during the first century of the conquest. It had to be in the main military and largely autonomous. It was to the single-handed initiative and resources of men like Bakhtiyar that the Turkish state owed its territorial expansion and also its preservation from the by no means passive Hindu powers. For a state like that of Delhi, limited as its man-power was, the setting up of a uniform civil administration in all parts of its dominions was out of the question. Familiarity with the details and problems of day-to-day administration could not be expected of the newly arrived Turks, even were such patient administrators available in their ranks and could be spared from the military work. Retention of the existing governmental machinery in the form of vassal states and the employment of non-Muslims for such essential civil work as the assessment and collection of the land revenue in villages directly within the military area, was thus unavoidable. Direct annexation of conquered territories was avoided as far as possible; the ruling class congregated in military headquarters and capital cities, and non-military Muslim penetration of the rural area was extremely slow and was, if at all, confined to missionaries. Except the martial classes, and that usually in course of hosti-

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lities, and a few traders, the non-Muslim population thus hardly came into governmental contact with the sovereign race whose purpose of administration turned on the smooth and regular collection of the revenue. It is to be noted, however, that this exclusiveness of the rulers and the character of their administration wore out as the century progressed and as they came into closer contact with the conquered people. The principle of *laissez faire* in administration was one of the important things whose early abandonment featured the Khalji goverment who thus summed up a tendency that had been progressively making itself felt throughout the century.

A study of this earliest form of Indo-Muslim provincial government must therefore begin with a consideration of the status and power of the vassal ruler to whom the paramount ruler entrusted the regular administration of the major portion of his kingdom. Very little however can be gleaned on this point from the chronicles in which only his hostility provided an occasion for mentioning the feudatory chief. The most important condition of his vassalage was, it is certain, the undertaking for the regular payment of tribute, which represented, it may be assumed, both the land-revenue (*kharaj*) and the poll-tax (*jaziya*) realizable from his dominions. His sovereignty was curtailed to provide for the inclusion, in his coinage, of the suzerain's name, whose omission would be a clear proof of his repudiation of vassalage. In the majority of cases however, the right of having an independent coinage appears to have been entirely taken away, for among the 13th century coins so far discovered only one instance is afforded of such a modified vassalage. The name of Iltutmish (Sama-sorala-deva, i.e. Shamsuddin) is included, evidently as a suzerain, in a few coins of a Cauhan prince of Ranthambhor whose name was read by Thomas as Chahara-deva.[1] From an inscription of another prince, Jaitra Singh, dated 1215, acknowledging the overlordship of Vallanadeva of Ranthambhor, but also mentioning Iltutmish of 'Joginipur,'[2] it seems that the suzerainty was to be acknowledged in epigraphs also. Government through the vassal kings was not confined to Hindu feudatories alone, for a uinque coin, discovered in Bengal, proves the extension of this convenient method to Muslims also. The coin of *Shahin-shah* Alauddin Daulat-shah b. Maudud, dated 1227, mentioning, at the same time the name on the reverse, of *Sultanul Azam*

1 *Chronicles*. p. 70. Cunningham. *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 92 see also *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 41 ff. Wright, *Cat. of Coins, Ind. Mus.*, ii, p. 24 no. 77-79.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, xvi, p. 86.

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Iltutmish.[3] can only be explained by assuming the former's vassalage. Whether the Muslim feudatory was also required to send tribute is a point on which information is obscure, but evidently it would not include the poll-tax which, although presumably realised from the non-Muslims, belonged to the local ruler. On the Muslim vassal the additional obligation of reading the Khutba in the suzerain's name was perhaps imposed, for it was one of the most jealously guarded symbols of sovereignty. If the Assam king's offer to have the Khutba read in his capital in the name of the Muslim conqueror, Yuzbak, in 1255,[4] can be taken as illustrating the prevailing conditions of vassalage, the Hindu states were also required to give this symbolic expression to Muslim suzerainty, but this would depend in the existence of a Muslim colony in the Hindu feudatory state. In the details of administration the vassal ruler appears to have enjoyed complete independence, subject, obviously, to his obligation to respect his suzerain's edicts. The privilege of having his own modified coinage probably carried with it the right to levy customs duty on his own frontiers. Ordinarily the vassal was his own master in the matter of assessment and collection of land-revenue, administration of justice and observance of religious practices. In the matter of revenue assessment, however, the standard set for the administered areas was expected to be followed in his dominions also, but this could hardly be a condition of vassalage. Much depended on the prestige and strength of the king whose suzerainty had, in fact, to be periodically enforced on the point of sword.

The chronicles generally use the words Iqta (اقطاع) and Wilayat (ولايت) to indicate a division of the kingdom. The former, which means, literally, a portion, is used much more frequently, seemingly with a technical meaning, on the exact determination of which depends a clear understanding of the nature of the local administration.[5] The word Iqta, meaning an administrative division, appears to have been used early in Central Asian States,[6] from which the Turks borrowed it. It is needless to point

3 *IRAS.*, vi, p. 367, no. 13. 4 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 264-5.

5 Both the words are used in a synonymous sense—See Barani p. 96, also p. 430 where Balban, in advising his son Bughra Khan, *Muqti'* of Lakhanuti, drew a distinction between *Iqtimdari* (kingdom) and Wilāyat-dāri, the last word having been evidently used for Muqti-ship; see also Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Appendix B pp. 217-219.

6 See, for example, Nizamal Mulk, *Siassat Namah*, p. 28. Ibnul Athir

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out that Raverty's translation of the world as 'fief'—which at once suggests a feudal system in which the tenants-in-chief of the king were virtual sovereigns in their own domains—is misleading. A careful study of the chronicle will show that the so-called 'fief-holders' (Muqti's) were little more than bureaucratic officers under the central government. And yet considerable latitude was allowed to them in military affairs, which would be unthinkable for modern bureaucratic governors. As Professor Gibb has remarked,[7] the term fief is too convenient to be avoided, but not until we study the system closely in its actual working will its exact significance be clear to us.

Towards the end of the XIIth century, Nizamul-Mulk laid down the following rules for the guidance of the *Muqti's*.[8] "They (the *muqti's*) should know that their right over the subjects is only to take their rightful amount of money or perquisite (مال حق) in a peaceful method;.....the life, property and the family of the subjects (رعايا) should be immune from any harm, the *muqti's* have no right over them; if the subject desires to make a direct appeal to the court of the Sultan the *Muqti'* should not prevent him. Every muqti' who violates these laws should be dismissed and punished;.....the kingdom and the subjects all belong to the king and the *Muqti's*, and the *Walis* are so many superintendents over them as the king is superintendent of other *muqti's*.....After three or four years the *'Amils* and the *Muqti's* should be transferred so that they may not be too strong." There is no mention, however, of their rights and liabilities in other matters of government such as army, revenue and justice, but there are instances in Seljuq and also in Khwarizmi history showing that the *muqti'* had his own contingents equipped and maintained out of the revenue of his province, the rest of which went to the central government.[9]

The same system in all its essential details was followed in India. The *muqti'* was appointed by the Sultan, and could be transferred and dismissed at will. Usually he maintained a body of troops consisting of both infantry and horsemen, out of his own provincial revenues, and was respon-

frequently uses it in his account of the Seljūq Kingdom X (Thornberg) pp. 178, 274; see also *En-Nessāwi*, p. 79.

7 *Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, p. 34.

8 *Siassat Namah*, p. 37.

9 Ibnul Athir (Cairo) X, pp. 127, 152, 176, 192, also Gibb, *Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, p. 34.

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sible not only for the defence of his province, but also for the maintenance of law and order. His troops could be requisitioned by the central government. Although it is not recorded that he, as a rule, despatched the surplus revenue of his province, after deducting the expenses of the army and the administration, yet instances are not rare to warrant such a supposition. The *muqti'* of Lahore and Multan was directed by Muhammud b. Sām in 501/1204 A.D, to despatch the arrears of revenue to enable him to make preparations for his campaign in Transoxania.[10] According to Barani, Prince Muhammud, Balban's eldest son and viceroy of Sindh, used to bring the revenue of his province personally to his father every year.[11] If we may take instances from the Khalji and Tughlaq period we may cite the instance of Alauddin, the *muqti'* of Karra and Awadh, who asked Jalaluddin Khalji for permission to utilise the surplus revenue (فواضل) of his province in purchasing horses and employing troops for an advance on Chanderi.[12] That the *Muqti'* or *Wali* was responsible for the accounts of his provincial revenue to the Finance Ministry (دیوان وزارت) seems clear from the order of Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq to his newly appointed officers: "If you desire that you may not be taken to task by the *Diwān-Wazārat*.....you should not be avaricious; take a little from the *Iqta'* and with this defray your expenses and pay your troops, and do not take a single farthing from the pay of the troops."[13] A close audit of the account of the *muqti'* is also implied in the following passage: "Those (*muqti's*) who embezzle the money and tamper with the accounts and exact more than the specified share from the *Iqta'*, would be punished with chains and imprisonment."[14] From these facts, Mr. Moreland concludes that the *Muqti* was essentially a bureaucratic officer.[15] The term bureaucracy, however, should be accepted in a qualified sense, since a highly centralised government which the system presupposes, was not what we find in the kingdom of Delhi in the 13th

10 *Alfi* Or. 142, F. 497b. Also *Jamiut-twarikh*, quoted by Raverty, *Trans. Tab. Nas*, p. 482 note

11 Barani, p. 59; see also pp. 108-9.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 220-21.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 431.

14 *Idem;* see also *Ijaze-Khusravi*, Add. 16841, F. 106-7, where an auditor (محاسب) sent by the Diwan-i-Wazārat, complain of the refusal of the *muqti* of Manikpur to submit his accounts or to pay the surplus revenue (فواضل) which was fixed at thirty thousand *jitals*.

15 *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 221.

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century. On more than one occassion the *muqti'* of Lakhnauti attacked another loyal governor, and was not considered a rebel on that account; both Malik Tamar Khan and Arstān Khan, siezed the province of Lakhnauti without the sanction of Delhi.[16] Although there is no record of the amount of his remuneration of salary (مواجب) as such, he must have had a definite share out of the revenues. The fact that in several instances,[17] the *muqti'* attempted to extend his province not only by conquering Hindu territories, but also by annexing part or whole of other adjacent *Iqtas*, and thus increasing the total revenue, suggests that his salary was probably fixed in proportion to the entire revenue.[18] Except as a punishment, as in the case of Malik Kabir Khan, who was recalled from Multan by Iltutmish and placed in charge of the small *Iqta'* of Pulwal,[19] or in the case of Malik Kushlu Khan, who, on the dismissal of Balban from the court in 651/1253 A.D. was transferred from his extensive *Iqta'* of Nagaur to Karra,[20] no *muqti* appears to have been transferred from a larger to a smaller *Iqta'*. Promotion in government service usually meant a transfer from a small to a larger *Iqta'*.[21] It is important to note that although the *muqti* was assigned a fixed share in the revenue, his financial position was different from that of the assignee (*Iqtadar*) who had no financial liability to the central exchequer. This is clear from the position of the two thousand *Shamsi Iqta'dars* who were assigned the revenues of the villages as their pay for personal service in the army.[22] To this category also belonged the

16 *Tab. Nas.*, pp. 245, and 267. 17 *Op. cit., Tab. Nas,*, pp. 269, 277

18 What this proportion was is impossible to ascertain. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, early in the 14th century, asked his revenue minister not to punish the "*Maliks and Amirs*" if they appropriated "half-tenth or half-eleventh and one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the revenue of the *Iqta* or *wilayat*,—besides the customary perquisites (مواجب) of the office"—Barani, p. 431. The wording here indicates that while the perquisite—whatever its value may have been—was his usual remuneration, the Tughluq king was prepared to allow the *Muqti* an extra percentage at the rate mentioned. Perhaps it was a revival of an earlier practice, suspended by the Khalji centralization.

19 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 234. 20 *Ibid.*, p. 270.

21 For example, see the case of Balban who has promoted from the small ... of Riwari to Hansi—*Tab. Nas.*, p. 283-4; also Malik Aibak, promoted from Sarsuti to Behar, p. 238-39; another Aibak was promoted from Narnaul to Baran—p. 237; see also *ibid.*, pp. 251, 253.

22 Barani, p. 61-63. The village was given to each of them as his مواجب Cf. Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 27.

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Iqta' of Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad b. Bakhtiyār granted to him by the *Muqti'* of Awadh.[23] Other assignments for services of a non-military character were those made to the *Qāzis* of the realm as well as to the *Amir-i-Dād* of the city.[24]

A practical distinction with regard to their liability and position is discernible among the *Muqti's* of the different provinces. The *muqti'* of such provinces as Lakhanuti or Sindh appears to have enjoyed a different status from those of the provinces situated nearer the capital. Malik Nāsiruddin Mahmūd, eldest son of Iltutmish and *Muqti'* of Lakhnauti, had the insignia of royalty, namely the red canopy and mace, conferred upon him.[25] Malik Tughan Khan received a similar recognition from Raziya[26] while Bughra Khan, in addition to these honours, was permitted, according to Ferishta, to issue coins in his own name.[27] Prince Muhammud, *Muqti* of Multan, was honoured by Balban in the same[28] way. The control of Delhi over the viceroyalties must have been different from the control of other provinces of the kingdom. Iltutmish and Balban personally appointed the Clerk (or Secretary خواجه) of the *Iqta's* of Kanouj and Amroha respectively.[29]

As regards other duties of the *Muqti'* we have already noted his responsibilities for the civil administration and military defence of the province. As the conquest was in the nature of a military occupation, the division of the kingdom was primarily military, and, as such, the maintenance and command of the provincial troops was the primary duty of the *Muqti'*. He enjoyed considerable freedom of action in the matter of fighting against the Hindus and also against foreign invaders. To quote a few instances; Malik Ay-Yetim, *Muqti'* of Ajmere, died in course of an expedition against Bundi;[30] in 640/1242 A.D. the *Muqti* of Budaon is said to have overthrown the independent tribes of Katehar;[31] the *Muqti'* of Meerut also undertook expeditions in Upper Rohilkhand.[32] He was expected to join the royal forces with his provincial contingents whenever required to do so, and failure was considered an act of rebellion. Malik Tez Khan was twice required to come with his troops from Awadh;[33] and Maliks

23 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 147; the Governor of Budaon had previously paid him in cash.
24 *Tab. Nas.*, pp. 223, 276.
25 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 181.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 243.
27 Barani, p. 92; Ferishta I, p. 141.
28 Barani, p. 66.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 36-38.
30 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 237.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 256.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 270.
33 *Ibid.*, p. 260.

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Kushlu Khan and Qutlugh Khan were also ordered to be present with their troops from Budaon and Bayana respectively in the expeditions "against Multan and Uch" in 650/1252 A.D.[34] Malik Arslān Khan and Masūd-i-Jāni, the *Muqti'* of Awadh, had failed to present themselves with their contingents in 655/1257 A.D. for the preparations undertaken to fight the Mongols, and were greatly afraid of the consequences which led them to rebel.[35] Although every *Muqti'* was liable to military service, only those in the neighbourhood of Delhi were generally ordered to be present.

From a passage in Barani, recording the advice of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq to his officers, it appears that the central government fixed the strength, pay, and equipment of the provincial contingents, which the muqti' was not allowed to alter.[36] It is doubtful if this was a continuation of an earlier system.[37] The 13th century autonomy would hardly square with this limitation on his action. Before Alauddin's centralization, no such detailed interference with his army administration is in evidence. Balban instructed his son, Bughra Khan, the *Muqti'* of Samāna and Sunam, to double the existing number of the provincial force by new recruitments and also to raise their pay.[38] He also impressed on him the necessity of keeping himself informed about every detail of his military affairs. "Consider no expense for the army as too much and let your muster-master عارض ممالک engage himself always in maintaining the old and recruiting new troops and keeping himself informed about every expenditure in his department."[39] The strength of the provincial contingent is nowhere indicated but it must have varied according to the revenue of the province. The *Muqti* also had his Muster-master[40] (*'Ariz*) and was represented in the *Diwan-i-Arz* of the central government by his *Nāib-i-Ārz* (Deputy muster-master).[41]

It does not appear that the judicial organisation of the province was under his control, or that he had any judicial function to perform. Apart from his general duties of maintaining law and order, which, incidentally, was ordinarily limited to the chief cities and fortresses, and could be performed by the Kotwal appointed by him—his duties were confined, be-

34 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 298.
35 *Ibid.*, p. 311.
36 Barani, p. 431; Moreland draws the same inference—*Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 220.
37 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 147.
38 Barani, p. 80.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 101-2.
40 *Idem.*
41 Barani, p. 116.

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sides what has been described above, to the raising of the 'king's share' of the revenue from the peasants, and the Hindu chiefs. We have no information respecting the existence of Muslim peasants at this period,[42] but in the cities there were owners of land and were liable to the payment of *kharaj*. Hindus formed the bulk of the peasantry and in most provinces they paid the revenue through their village headman, called *Muquaddams* and *Chaudhuries*.[43] Some of the tributary Hindu chiefs were under the *muqti'* while others paid directly to the *Diwān-i-Wazārat* in accordance with the terms of the original arrangement.

The *muqti'* was generally resident of the province, but in some cases, particularly in the central provinces of the kingdom, there were absentee governors who ruled the province through deputies—sometimes appointed by the central government.[44] Malik Hindu Khan, Muqti' of Uch, ruled the province after he returned to Delhi in the reign of Bahram, through his deputy (*Naib*).[45] Balban, who held the office of *Amir-i-Hajib* and later of the *Naib-i-Mamlikat*, requiring his constant attendance at the court, must have administered his *Iqta* of Hansi and Siwalkh through a deputy. At his dismissal in 651 1253 A.D., Hansi was placed in charge of the infant son of Mahmud[46] and in this case it must have been ruled by a *Naib*. In larger provinces the *Muqti'* himself appointed his deputy over important cities and outposts; Sher Khan placed his *Naib* Malik Kuret over Multan;[47] the *Muqti* of Lahkhanor, killed by the army of the Rai of Jajnagar in 642 1244 A.D., was most probably a deputy of Malik Tugan Khan.[48] Probably to this class of deputy-governorship should belong the Iqta's of Narangoe (?) held by Ali-i-Mardān, Diwkot and Ganguri (?) held by Husāmuddin Iwaz, mentioned in connection with the early Khalji rule in Bengal.[49] The *Muqti* of Nagaur is said to have conferred the *Iqta'* of Kashmandi on Muhammud, the uncle of Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammud b. Bakhtiyār.[50] The *Muqti'* obviously had the authority to

42 From a remark of Firoz Tughlaq recorded by Barani, p. 574, it appears that agriculture was confined to the Hindus, who were recommended for kind treatment as the agriculturists were the source of wealth for the *Baitul Māl* of the Muslims."

43 Barani, p. 106.

44 *I. e.* the Naib of Kanouj was appointed by Iltutmish—Barani,, p. 38.

45 *Tab Nas*., p. 399

46 *Ibid*., p. 217.

47 *Ibid*., p. 277.

48 *Ibid*., p. 245.

49 *Ibid*., p. 157-8

50 *Tab Nas*., p. 146, note, see also Raverty's Trans., p. 549.

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assign land or villages to his officers, chiefly for military service, as is seen from the case of Ikhtiyāruddin who obtained the *Iqta'* of the Bhagwat and Bhiuli from the *Muqti'* of Awadh. Balban advised Bughra Khan to give *Iqta's* to trusted and loyal officers.[51] That the *Muqti'* could also make free grants of villages like the Sultan is proved by the grant of a village by Balban to Minhaj-i-Sirāj in 647/1249 A.D.—producing an income of thirty thousand *jitals*.[52]

As to the existence of other provincial officers under him, there is no detailed information but since he was in effect a miniature king, the reproduction of the king's main departments in his province, may perhaps be presumed. He had his secretary or *Dabir* at the head of his secretariat and also a confidential adviser.[53] It does not appear that he had any prime minister as such Ainul Mulk Asha'ri, who is said to have been appointed Wazir of Prince Firoz, the Muqti' of Budaon, by Iltutmish in 625 1227 A.D.,[54] was most probably only a tutor or *Atabak*. Lesser officers—called *Mutasarrif*, Karkun and *Amil*, formed his administrative and fiscal staff.[55] controlled by his own revenue department, over which the central ministry could claim, at best, auditorial authority. Neither the judicial officers in the province nor the local *Barids* appear to have been under his control.

Extensive as the *Iqta'* system was it was by no means exclusive. Mention is made occasionally of *Khalisah* lands and cities, placed in charge of *Amirs* or *Shahnahs* instead of *Muqti's*. The city and district of Bhatinda appears as a *Khalisah*, at least during the first half of the century.[56] Raverty translated the word as "Crown-land," but Moreland, more appropriately, renders it as "Reserve-land."[57] Its status, financial liability and relation with the central government, were different from the ordinary *Iqta*,' though the name is sometimes also applied to it.[58] No

51 Barani, p. 80.

52 *Tab. Nas.*, pp. 214, 295

53 He was named Kat-Khuda; *Tab. Nas.*, p. 243; see also Add. 16841 F. 106b.

54 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 172.

55 For the mention of a Mushrif and his Naib (probably an accountant, under the *Muqti* of Kol, see *Fawadul-Fawaid*, Or 1806, ff 56-57. The salary of these local officers was paid in cash but those attached to the revenue collection appear to have been allowed to appropriate ½ or 1 p.c. of the collected revenue Barani, p. 430.

56 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 250, 251.

57 *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 29.

58 *Tab. Na* p 188

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portion of the revenue of the area was assigned to any officer as in the case of the ordinary *Iqta'*, nor was the collection left to the *Muqti* or any other intermediary— but was directly administered by the Revenue Ministry through a Superintendent (Shahnah), who, unlike the *Muqti*,' was probably paid a fixed sum of money as his remuneration by the central exchequer. Under the same system was probably the territory in the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi, the territory known in those days by the name of Harianah[59]—called the "Havali-i-Delhi"[60] which does not appear as part of any *Iqta*.' We do not know the administrative organisation of these regions, but for fiscal purposes it must have been directly under the *Diwan-i-Wazarat*. The reserve land (or *Khalisah*) was, however, not permanent, for Bhatinda later on appears as an *Iqta'* under Malik Sher Khan,[61] which shows that while the distinction remained, the land itself could be changed from *Khalisah* to *Iqta*.' Another important fact should also be mentioned in this connection. The fortress of Gwalior, during the period it was held by Delhi, was never converted into an *Iqta* but remained always under an Amir evidently a military officer.[62] It was a military division and the commandant presumably carried no administrative duties. The case of Karra on the Ganges, near Allahabad may be cited as an example of a military division being eventually converted into a civil administrative unit. During the reign of Iltutmish it formed the military charge of an Amir,[63] but by the time of Mahmud it had attained the status of an ordinary *Iqta*.'[64]

A. B. M. Habibullah

59 For the early use of the name and the extent of the territory see *Epi. Indo-Mos.*, 1913-14. p. 38.

60 Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 23, for its approximate boundary.

61 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 277.

62 Iltutmish's first appointment was in Gwalior as its *Amir*. *Tab. Nas.*, p. 169. When he reconquered it in 638/1231 A.D. he appointed only three officers there, the *Amir-i-dad*, the *Kotwal* and the *Qazi; ibid.*, p. 175. Malik Tyasai was appointed as the superintendent of Gwalior and not its *Muqti*'; *ibid.*, p. 240.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 177: see also Raverty's note, on p. 626 of his trans.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

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MISCELLANY

Dr. Bhattasali's comments on Rāmacarita

In course of his article on "The second struggle of Bhīma and his friend Hari in the Rāmacaritam" in the June issue of this Journal (pp. 126-138) Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has found fault with two statements in the Introduction which he has attributed to me. On p. 136 he has quoted a passage from p. xxxiii of the Introduction which ends with the following sentence: "He (Rāmapāla) may thus be said to have ruled over Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, *or at least over major portions of these provinces*." In quoting the passage, Dr. Bhattasali has omitted the portion I have italicized aobve, and, after referring to some "facts," observed: "Under these circumstances, to call Rāmapāla master of the whole of Eastern India appears to be a rather lamentable non-appreciation of the actual facts." I leave the reader to judge for himself the propriety of leaving out a very material portion in the extract quoted by him so as to give it an altogether different meaning and then criticising a statement which was never made.

As regards the "facts" referred to by Dr. Bhattasali, *viz.*, that "the Varmans were in full occupation of Vaṅga and of probably the entire region south of the Ganges and east of the Bhāgīrathī," and that "the whole of Kaliṅga including Utkala was under the mighty Coḍagaṅga," during the reign of Rāmapāla, it will help the cause of history if Dr. Bhattasali would state the evidence on which they are based. For the present I can only say that I am not aware of any positive evidence justifying the categorical remarks of Dr. Bhattasali, and that they are opposed to well-known and reliable evidences.

Again, on p. 127 Dr. Bhattasali quotes a passage from p. xxix and then adds: —

"Dr. Majumdar then goes on to say that the commentary found with the text of the *Rāmacaritam* abruptly ends here. This is incorrect, because the commentary ends with II. 35 and not with II. 36."

Here, also, Dr. Bhattasali has omitted to quote the first portion of the sentence which would show that the word "here" refers in a general way to the text describing subsequent facts and not specifically to verse II. 36. It

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has been clearly stated on p. vi. of the Introduction that "the commentary does not run beyond verse 35 of Canto II."

Dr. Bhattasali has pointed out that I "was tempted to identify Hari with Harivarman of Vaṅga but was not prepared to hazard any definite opinion" (p. 135), whereas he seems to have no doubt on this point. I plead guilty to the charge, for I have always feared to tread where Dr. Bhattasali can easily rush.

As regards the other general points raised by Dr. Bhattasali, I need only point out that where uncertainties are so great, any new theory deserves consideration, but his views do not appear to be more convincing than those put forward in our Introduction.

R. C. Majumdar

Aṣṭaka-navaka-nala

We may try to know the meaning of *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* after giving some instances where it occurs. It occurs in lines 15-17 of the dated[1] and line 19 of the undated[2] Faridpur plates said to be of Dharmāditya but really of Gopacandra, 'Dharmāditya' being a title neither of Samudragupta, as Dr. Hoernle at first thought it to be[3] nor of Yaśodharman, as he and Mr. Pargiter thought later,[4] but of Gopacandra himself. It also occurs in line 19 of the grant of Gopacandra dated the year 19[5] and also in line 10 of the Dāmodarpur copper-plate No. 3.[6] Lines 15-17 of the dated Faridpur plate (Plate A) run thus:—

'.....Śivacandra-ha (sten = āṣṭa) kanavaka-nalenām (śam)[7] apaviñchya ['*] Vātabhoga-sakāśe ['*] smābhi [r*] Dhruvilātyāṃ kṣetrākulyavāpattrayaṃ tāmmrapaṭṭa-dhammaṇā vikkrīta [ṃ*]'.

1 *IA.*, XXXIX, pp. 195-196 Plate A of the three copper-plate grants from East Bengal edited by Mr. Pargiter.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 201. Line 19 of the undated Faridpur plate (Plate B) runs thus, ".....dharmaśila-Śivacandra—hast—āṣṭaka—navaka—nalen—āpaviñchya."

3 *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 44-45.

4 *Ibid.*, XXXIX, p. 208.

5 *Ibid.*, XXXIX, p. 204. Line 19 of this (Plate C) runs in the same way as that of Plate B.

6 *EI.*, XV, p. 136.

7 'Śam' is not found in the original plate but is pointed out by Mr. Pargiter, though he has not added it in his transliteration.

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Mr. Pargiter translated the above passage thus:—

".....we, having severed the land according to the standard measure of eight reeds in breadth and nine in length by the hand of Śivacandra, have sold to Vātabhoga a triple kulya-sowing area of cultivated land in Dhruvilātī by the custom of copper-plate."[8] So, according to Mr. Pargiter, *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* means the area eight reeds broad and nine reeds long and he equated this area with a *kulyavāpa*.[9] He thought that *aṣṭaka-navaka* cannot be connected with the word *hasta* preceding it, as in such a case it would mean that the reed was eight or nine cubits and so not of a definite length.[10] Dr. R. G. Basak follows Mr. Pargiter by translating *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* as a measurement of 8×9 reeds,[11] though Dr. Basak does not equate this with *kulyavāpa*,[12] as Mr. Pargiter did.

While Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Basak take *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* as a unit measuring 8×9 reeds, Dr. Benoychandra Sen differs from them. According to him, it means a unit measured by two different kinds of *nalas*, one for measuring length and the other for measuring breadth, the former being of nine cubits and the latter eight.[13] So two different kinds of *nalas* were used to measure the length and breadth respectively of the same unit called *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala*. We are at a loss to know why there should be two different *nalas* (one for length and another for breadth) in measuring one and the same unit. It only adds to confusion in measuring. So it is not possible to accept Dr. Sen's conclusion. Again, *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* can never be made to refer to an oblong area (of 8×9 reeds according to Mr. Pargiter or 8×9 cubits according to Dr. Sen). *Nala* means a reed and as a unit of measurement, it can mean only a unit of particular length, not an oblong area of particular size at all. So it is wrong to equate, with Mr. Pargiter, *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* with *kulyavāpa*. Also such equation is unwarranted by the inscriptions themselves. Further, as Dr. Sen says,[14] it would have been superfluous to mention the two identical expressions (*aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* and *kulyavāpa*) separately. Finally, *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* cannot mean an oblong area, as the word '*apaviñchya*'

8 *IA.*, XXXIX, pp. 197-198.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 215.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 215.
11 *EI.*, XV, p. 137.
12 *EI.*, XV, p. 132, n. 2.
13 See his '*Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal*' pp. 519-520.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 520.

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indicates measuring and separating land, not by a standard oblong area, but by a standard unit of particular length.

We cannot accept the meaning of *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* given to it by Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Basak or by Dr. Sen. It means, according to us, a *nala* or reed of eight to nine cubits length. It seems to be right to connect *aṣṭaka* and *navaka* with *hasta* preceding them and to take them, with Dr. Sen, as cubits.

V. LAKSHMINARAYANA

Ba'urah or Baruza ?

In a note published in the *IHQ.*, vol. XVIII, (pp. 369 ff.) entitled—*The word Ba'ūrah in Murūj ul-Zahab of Al Ma'sūdī* Dr. H. C. Ray has tried to identify the enigmatic word Ba'ūrah with the dynastic name Pratihāra. The word occurs in the account of the Arab traveller Al Ma'sūdī who visited Western India towards the beginning of the 10th century. His account was completed sometime before 955 A.D. While speaking of the contemporary kings of Kanoj, Al Ma'sūdī says that the king of Kanoj was called Ba'ūrah and that it was also the common title of all the kings within the empire. The contemporary ruling dynasty of Kanoj was the Gurjara-Pratihāra and this has naturally led scholars to connect the word Ba'ūrah with Pratihāra inspite of the great phonetic difficulty. Dr. Ray endorses the view that it is a corruption of the dynastic name Pratihāra (> Paḍihāra).

The reading of the word is far from certain. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille who were the first to edit the text and translate it under the title *Les Prairies d'Or* adopted the reading *Bawūrah* (and not *Baourah* as Dr. Ray has noted). Ba'ūrah is the reading adopted by Elliot and Dowson. Prof. Hodivala suggests the reading *Bozah, Bozoh* or *Bodzah* and connects it with the name Bhoja. Bhoja is however the personal name of only one principal ruler of the Pratihāra dynasty, that of Bhoja I. Al Ma'sūdī on the contrary clearly states that it was the *title* common to all the kings within the empire. This is why Prof. Hodivala's suggestion has not been found fully satisfactory.

None of these scholars seems to have compared a revised translation of certain portions of Al Ma'sūdī's work given by Ferrand in his *Textes Géographiques Arabes Persans et Turks relatifs à l'Extreme-Orient* (pp. 91-

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108). He gives an entirely new reading—that of *Barūza* which is the reading accepted by Marquart (*Eransahr*, pp. 263-264) on the basis of the Leyden manuscript of the text. This reading, I believe, gives a satisfactory solution of the problem. Ferrand translates the relevant passages thus:

(i) "One of his (Ballahrā) neighbours, amongst the kings of India far away from the sea, is the lord of the city of Kanudj,—the Barūza which is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has strong garrisons stationed in the North, South, West and East because each of these sides is menaced by a warlike neighbour." (P. 94).

(ii) "The king of India is called Ballahrā, that of Kanudj in Sind Barūza and that is the name which is borne by all the kings of the country. There is also the city of Barūza which today is in the bosom of Islam and amongst the dependencies of Multan. It is from this city that comes out one of the rivers of which the union forms the Mihrān (Indus) of Sind. ... The king of Kanudj, Barūza, is the adversary of Ballahrā, the king of India." (P. 102).

(iii) "The kingdom of Barūza, the king of Kanudj, has an area of nearly 120 square parasangs in parasangs of Sind, each of which measures 8000 (parasangs) of this country. This king about whom we have already spoken, has four armies according to the four directions of wind—each of these consists of seven hundred thousand or even nine hundred thousand men. The Northern army is destined to fight with the ruler of Multan and his subjects, the Musalmans who have settled on this frontier. The Southern army operates against the Ballahrā, the king of Mānkir. The other two armies are meant for any quarter whatsoever in which the enemy might appear." (Pp. 102-103).

(iv) " ... The Mihrān (Indus) of Sind comes out from well known sources in the upper region of Sind, the territory of Kanudj, the kingdom of Barūza, the countries of Kaśmīr, Kandahār and Ṭekin and at last it flows into Multān where it gets the name of Mihrān of Gold." (P. 95).

All are agreed that the kings of Kanoj mentioned by Al Ma'sūdī were the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings. We cannot think of any other contemporary dynasty which had attained the political and military strength to which Al Ma'sūdī refers. But how to explain the title *Barūza*, which according to Al Ma'sūdī was a title borne by all rulers of the kingdom?

Barūza can be explained as the Persian translation of the word *Varāha*. The word corresponding to Sanskrit Varāha and meaning "boar" is in

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Avestan—*Varāza*, in Pehlevi—*Varāz* and in New Persian—*Värāz* (Cf. Paul Horn—*Neupersische Etymologie;* no. 896). Probably the correct reading was *Bareza* (بَرِزَه) instead of Barūza (بَرُزَه) In any way the Arab copyist did not pay much attention to the vowel quantity of letter *rā* (ر) in the Persian word.

We know that Varāha was a favourite title of the Gurjara kings. King Bhoja who was the real founder of the Gurjara-Pratihāra supremacy had assumed the title of *Ādi-Varāha*. He had assumed another title viz. Mihira to show his leanings to the sun-worship. It is not known if all the rulers of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty had assumed the title Varāha. But we know that the Gurjara rulers of Kathiāwāḍ favoured the title. This is clearly mentioned in a line of the famous passage of the Jaina *Harivaṃśa* which has been quoted by various authors (R. C. Majumdar—*The Gurjara-Pratihāras, JL.*, X, p. 23; B. C. Sen—*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal,* p. 296). The last line of the passage runs as follows: *sauryānām-adhimaṇḍale jayayute vire Varāhe-vati* which has been rendered as " ... and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha of the Sauryas." The Jaina *Harivaṃśa* was completed in 783-784 A.D. We know of another king Dharaṇīvarāha, most probably of the same stock, who was ruling in Kathiāwāḍ as a Mahāsāmanta of Mahīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty in the beginning of the 10th century A.D.

All this suggests that the title *Varāha* was a favourite title of the Gurjara rulers either of the Pratihāra or of other clans. Al Ma'sūdī, in fact, does not say that the title was confined to the Pratihāra clan alone. He clearly says that the title was used by all kings of the Gurjara empire. The name of one of the last rulers of the Pratihāra clan, Barū-jaybāl becomes less enigmatic if we take the first word as the same title Barūza (-Varāha). The real name of the ruler was probably Jaypal and Varāha, the title.

Al Ma'sūdī also refers to a city called Barūza which formerly belonged to the Gurjara empire but in his days had been annexed to the Mahomedan kingdom of Sind. No definite identification of this place has been proposed by Dr. Ray either in his *Dynastic History* (I, p. 16) or in his article already referred to. Al Ma'sūdī says that one of the main tributaries of the Indus comes out from this city. This can only mean that the city was situated near the sources of one of the tributaries of the Indus.

There were two cities which bore the name Varāha. One of these two is mentioned by Hiuan-tsang as *Si-p'i-to-ja-la-tzu* which was restored

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by Julien as Sphitavaras and by Watters as Śvetavat (Watters—*On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 126). But Marquart was the first to recognise the name as a Middle Persian one and to restore it as **Speta-varāz* which would be in Sanskrit *Śveta-Varāha* (Marquart—*Festschrift Sachau*, p. 265, referred to by Pelliot—*T'oung Pao*, XXIII, p. 114n). The city was situated in the neighbourhood of Kapiśā and was thus in Kafiristan. None of the tributaries of the Indus has its source near Kapiśā unless we think of the Kabul river. But Al Ma'sūdī clearly mentions one of the Punjab tributaries which flows up to Multan. The next city which had the name of Varāha is the *Varāhamūlapura* or Bārāmūla which is situated near the gateway to the Kashmir valley. The Jhelum after carrying the waters of the Wular lake passes by this city. It could be very well described as a city situated near the sources of the Jhelum which is one of the main tributaries of the Indus.

We have next to examine if the city of Varāhamūlapura ever belonged to the Gurjaras and if it had really passed into the hands of the Musalmans in the 10th century. It is likely that the frontier province of the Kashmir valley up to Bārāmūla was in the hands of the Gurjaras in the end of the ninth and the beginning of the 10th centuries. The Gurjara king Alakhāna occupied the upper portions of the flat Doab between the Jhelum and Chenab rivers, south of Dārvābhisāra and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east. The *Rājatarangiṇī* informs us that Alakhāna was defeated by Śaṅkaravarman and compelled to cede to Kashmir the territories contiguous with it (*Rāj.*, IV, 142-143; Ray—*Dynastic History*, I, pp. 72 ff.). It is not improbable that Alakhāna had extended his supremacy up to the gates of Kashmir and annexed Bārāmūla to his kingdom for some time. But there is no evidence of any Mahomedan conquest in this region before the end of the 10th century.

P. C. Bagchi

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Pāśupatasūtra

This is the earliest and most authoritative text-book of the Nakulīśa Pāśupata school of Śaivas, which was drawn upon and held in great esteem by all later writers, who claimed divine origin for it. A communication about a manuscript of the work accompanied by a portion of a commentary of Kaundanya on it, found in the Indian Museum collection of manuscripts made over to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was given by the writer of the present note at the monthly meeting of the Society in November 1938.[1] The work was subsequently published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. CXLIII). The edition is based on a manuscript discovered in Benares and partly on the manuscript of the Society.[2] A number of variants have been noted in it though the sources thereof have not been indicated. But variants found in the Society's manuscript have not been mentioned.[3] As a matter of fact, however, there exist differences of readings between the printed edition and the Society's Ms. A reference is made below to those noticed in the text of the sūtras as being the more important.

	Printed ed.	Ms.
I. 2	स्नायीत	स्नायात्
I. 8	°डुडुंकार	°हुहुंकार
I. 9	दक्षिणामूर्तेः	दक्षिणामूर्तिम्
I. 25-6	विकरणः धर्मित्वं	विकरणधर्मित्वं
I. 38	इत्येतैर्गुणै°	इत्येतैरेभिर्गुणै°
I. 43	भजस्व	भवस्व
I. 44	भवोद्भवः	भवोद्भवाय नमः
II. 3	ज्येष्ठस्य	This is followed by श्रेष्ठस्य
II. 6	सार्वकामिक°	सर्वकामिक°
II. 15	अतिदत्तमतीष्टं	अतिदत्तमतिगूढं
II. 22	ज्येष्ठाय नमः	This is followed by श्रेष्ठाय नमः
II. 24	कलविकरणाय नमः	This is followed by बलविकरणाय नमो बलाय नमः

1 Vide *Year-book of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. V, p. 148; *Hindu* (Madras), November 13, 1938.

2 It is not stated definitely as to how the manuscript was utilised, save and except that a portion of the work not found in the Benares manuscript was taken from the former.

3 The sources of the portions within squared brackets (p. 51 & p. 107) have not also been indicated.

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II. 27	मनोऽमयाय	मनोन्मनाय
III. 2	व्यक्ताचारः	अव्यक्ताचारः
III. 18	परिभवं	परेभ्यः परिभवं
III. 23	घोरघोरतरेभ्यश्च	घोरघौरतरेभ्यः
IV. 1	तप आनन्त्याय	तपोऽनन्ताय
IV. 7	कृतान्न०	कृतन्त०
IV. 15	अनिन्दितकर्मा	Not found in Ms.
V. 12	अङ्गसः योगी	असङ्गयोगी
V. 25	हृदि	तत्सदिति हृदि
V. 37	संचित्तम्	संचिन्त्य
V. 38	स्थापयित्वा च	स्थापयित्वा तु
V. 39	क्षेमी सन्	क्षेम्यां सं०
V. 44	ब्रह्मणोऽधिपति०	ब्रह्माधिपतिर्ब्रह्मणोऽधिपति०
V. 47	शिवः	शिवोम्

It will be noticed that some of the variants in the concluding sūtras of the different chapters agree with texts occurring in *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X. 43-7),[4] from which they might have been borrowed. It may not be unlikely that these formed part of the original version which was slightly different from the one commented on by Kauṇḍanya.

A very important variant noticed in the commentary portion relates to the name of the author of the commentary which is Kauṇḍanya in the Society's Ms. and Kauṇḍinya in the printed edition.

Of the variants of the commentary only one noted on p. 26 of the edition occurs in the Society's Ms. and that side by side with the reading adopted in the former.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

4 Sāyaṇa's reading सर्वतः in X. 45, 1 does not, however, agree either with the printed edition or the manuscript.

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Evidence of the Nālandā Seals[1]

1. *Seal of Budha Gupta.*[2]

The exact position of Budha Gupta (*c.* 476-95 A.D.) in the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas could not so long be determined owing to want of definite evidence. Some scholars suggested that he was a son of Kumāra Gupta I (*c.* 414-55 A.D.), while others took him to be the successor (possibly son) of Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription (473 A.D.). The recently published Nālandā seal[3] of Budha Gupta, though unfortunately fragmentary, proves beyond doubt that all the hypotheses regarding his relationship with other members of the Imperial Gupta family are wrong and that Budha Gupta was certainly a son of Pura Gupta whose real name as found on the Nālandā seal of his son Narasiṃha Gupta is no doubt Pūru Gupta.[4]

A little more than half of the Nālandā seal of Budha Gupta is broken away and lost. The preserved portion actually belongs to the proper left of the seal. Fortunately however the text of the lost section can be very satisfactorily restored with the help of the Nālandā seals of Narasiṃha Gupta, son of Pūru Gupta, and the Nālandā and Bhitarī seals of Narasiṃha's son Kumāra Gupta. Comparing the lines of writing, the concluding section of each of the lines and the size of the seal of Narasiṃha Gupta with those of the seal of Budha Gupta, one cannot fail to notice the striking similarity between the two. It is perfectly clear that the text of lines 1-6 on

1 The author is indebted for a few suggestions to Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri who is now inclined to take Śakrāditya of a Nālandā seal (*Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 38) and of Hiuen Tsang to be a *viruda* of Pūru Gupta.

2 After this note was prepared and sent for publication, Mr. A. Ghosh's note on Budha Gupta's seal has been published in *I.H.Q.*, June, 1943, p. 119ff.

3 *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66: *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material* by H. Sastri, p. 64.

4 Cf. Krishna Deva, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 236 and line 6 of the Nālandā seal of Narasiṃha Gupta, plate VIII (b) in *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66 I cannot accept the suggestion that Skanda Gupta and Pūru Gupta were one and the same king. Such a theory cannot be accepted without further evidence, as the absence of Skanda's name and the use of Pūru's on the seals and the presence of the former and the absence of the latter in the inscriptions can hardly be explained in the present state of our knowledge

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the seals of both Narasiṃha Gupta and Budha Gupta is the same as the corresponding section of the inscription on the seals of Kumāra Gupta, son of Narasiṃha Gupta. A comparison of this section of the epigraph as found on the seals of Narasiṃha Gupta and Budha Gupta would show that both the seals have practically similar number of *akṣaras* in the corresponding lines.

Restored text of the Nālandā Seal of Budha Gupta.

1. [सर्व्वराजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज*]श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-
श्रीघठोत्क-
2. [चपौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छवि*]दौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां
कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न-
3. [स्य महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परि*]गृहीतो महादेव्यां दत्तदेव्या-
मुत्पन्नः
4. [स्वयञ्चाप्रतिरथः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्री*]चन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पा-
दानुध्यातो
5. [महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज*]श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
6. [नुध्यातो महादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म*]हाराजाधिराजश्री[पुरु]गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-
7. [स्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां श्री*]महा(?)देव्यामुत्पन्नः
8. [परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज श्री*]बुधगुप्तः (॥*)

Restored text of the Nālandā Seal of Narasiṃha Gupta.

1. [सर्व्वराजोच्छेत्तुः पृथि*]व्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराजश्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-
श्रीघटोत्कचपौ-
2. [त्रस्य महाराजाधिरा*]जश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छविदौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां
कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न-
3. [स्य महाराजाधिरा*]जश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्तदेव्या-
मुत्पन्न-
4. [स्स्वयञ्चाप्रतिरथ*]: परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-
स्तत्पादानु-
5. [ध्यातो महादेव्यां*] ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य
पुत्रस्तत्पा-
6. [दानुध्यातो म*]हादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः महाराजाधिराजश्रीपूरुगुप्तस्तस्य पु-
7. [त्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो*] महादेव्यां श्रीचन्द्रदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभाग-
8. [वतो महाराजाधिरा*]जश्रीनरसिंहगुप्तः (॥*)

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Number of *akṣaras* in the lines.

Line	Seal of Narasiṃha	Seal of Budha
1	36	34
2	36	38
3	34	34
4	34	36
5	32	31
6	31	31
7	24	18
8	16	19

It will be seen that there is no space for the name of any other Gupta prince between the names of Pūru Gupta and Budha Gupta and that there is hardly any doubt regarding their relationship as indicated by the word *putra* occurring at the end of line 6. It is thus proved that Budha Gupta was a son of Pūru Gupta. We cannot be sure about the name of Budha Gupta's mother; but she seems to be different from Candradevī, mother of Narasiṃha Gupta. It may be pointed out in this connection that the word *mahādevī* meaning simply "a queen" is usually but wrongly taken by scholars to indicate "the chief queen."

The theory of those scholars who placed the reign of Pūru Gupta after that of Budha Gupta is now rendered impossible by the evidence furnished by the Nālandā seal of Budha Gupta. But the chronological position of Narasiṃha Gupta, his son Kumāra Gupta and the latter's son Viṣṇu Gupta is likely to remain unsettled until further evidence is forthcoming. If Kumāra Gupta, son of Narasiṃha Gupta, is identified with Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription of 473 A.D., we have to believe that Pūru Gupta, Narasiṃha Gupta, Kumāra Gupta and Viṣṇu Gupta all ruled between 467 A.D. the last known date of Skanda Gupta and 476 A.D. the first known date of Budha Gupta, and that Budha Gupta, possibly a younger step-brother of Narasiṃha Gupta, succeeded Viṣṇu Gupta on the throne. The main objection to this view would be the accommodation of four kings within the comparatively short period of nine years. We have moreover to find out a Bālāditya, different from Narasiṃha Gupta Bālāditya, to be assigned to the same period as that of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (*c.* 515-35 A.D.).

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It is also possible to suggest that Budha Gupta was the elder step-brother of Narasiṃha Gupta and that Narasiṃha Gupta, his son Kumāra Gupta and the latter's son Viṣṇu Gupta were all successors of Budha Gupta. In this case, Narasiṃha Gupta no doubt becomes a contemporary of Mihirakula, but the position of Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription (473 A.D.) in the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas remains undetermined. This view moreover cannot be quite easily reconciled with the rule of Vainya Gupta (507 A.D.) and Bhānu Gupta (510 A.D.). Of course there may be a third alternative suggesting the division of empire and the simultaneous rule of more than one prince at a time in different parts of the country. It is not easy to accept without the help of further evidence any one of the suggestions in the present state of our knowledge. The doubtful evidence of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* gives no material help, while the tradition recorded in the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* that Bālāditya, contemporary of Mihirakula, was preceded by Tathāgata Gupta and Buddha Gupta and succeeded by his son Vajra makes the confusion worse confounded.

2. *Seal of Vainya Gupta*

A king named Vainya Gupta was known from the Gunaighar (Tippera Dist., Bengal) inscription of A.D. 507.[1] He was identified with Dvādaśāditya of the coins. It however could not be determined if Vainya Gupta actually belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty. While the Imperial Guptas are called *parama-bhāgavata*, Vainya Gupta, if the published text of the Gunaighar inscription is to be accepted was *bhagavan-mahādevapādānudhyāta*. The small fragment of a seal of this king was discovered at Nālandā sometime ago and has been recently published.[2] The legend on the seal, though partially preserved, resembles in point of style that of the seals of the Imperial Guptas. The text of the preserved portion of the legend runs: .....गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्त...स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्री...गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां...परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीवैन्यगुप्तः

It will be seen that Vainya Gupta was not only a *paramabhāgavata*, but, like his own name, the names of his ancestors ended in the word *Gupta*. It is thus clear that Vainya Gupta belonged to the line of the Imperial Guptas and that he ruled at least over considerable parts of Bengal and Bihar almost immediately after Budha Gupta. We do not know anything about the

1 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I. p. 331ff. 2 *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 67

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relationship that might have existed between Budha Gupta and Vainya Gupta and between the latter and Bhānu Gupta of the Eran inscription of 510 A.D.[3] As regards the position of Bhānu Gupta, several alternate suggestions are possible. Firstly, Bhānu Gupta may have been a successor of Vainya Gupta and the dominions of both may have included parts of Eastern Malwa. Secondly, Vainya Gupta may have been the lord of the eastern part of the Gupta empire when its western part was being ruled by Bhānu Gupta. Thirdly, Bhānu Gupta may have actually been a viceroy in the Malwa region like Govinda Gupta and Ghaṭotkaca Gupta.[4]

The reign period of Vainya Gupta is intimately associated with the history of the downfall of the Imperial Guptas. The rise of a ruling dynasty represented by Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva in Central and South-west Bengal in the first half of the sixth century A.D. possibly points to the extirpation of Gupta rule from the whole of Bengal excepting the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti (North Bengal). The centre of the power of this royal line was possibly in Gauḍa (mod. Murshidābād Dist.)[6] and the characterisation of the so-called Gauḍī *rīti* of poetical composition was probably effected under the patronage of these kings and their successors. The Maukharis of Magadha may have come into conflict with the Gauḍas originally as feudatories of the Imperial Guptas; but when, in course of the struggle, Gupta rule in Magadha was extinguished, the Maukharis fought with the Gauḍas with the claim of mastery over Magadha. It is not impossible that Gauḍa rulers like Gopacandra advanced considerably into Magadha by pushing the Maukharis back towards the west and that it was they who extirpated Gupta rule from North Bengal about the middle of the sixth century. But the decline of the Guptas in North Bengal may have been mainly due to the encroachment of the kings of Kāmarūpa.[7]

The western limit of the dominions of Budha Gupta and his successors cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It is usually

3 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 335f.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 298f, 494ff.

5 Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 350ff, 354ff, 357ff, 359ff.

6 Gopacandra's dominion certainly included the Burdwan Dist., just to the south of the Murshidabad Dist. which is Gauḍa in the oldest and the most restricted sense. For a Nālandā seal of the Candras see H. Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

7 Mahāsena Gupta of the "Later Gupta" Dynasty is known to have defeated Susthitavarman king of Kāmarūpa, near the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra). This possibly points to the fact that this Kāmarūpa king tried to extend his political influence upon considerable portions of North Bengal.

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supposed that the successors of Skanda Gupta lost control over the Kathiawar region and the successors of Budha Gupta even lost West and parts of East Malwa to the Hūṇas. These points cannot be definitely settled until further evidence is forthcoming. It is however not impossible that the early Maitrakas were subordinates of the Imperial Guptas and that the *paramabhaṭṭāraka* referred to in the inscription (502 A.D.)[8] of Mahārāja Droṇasiṃha who was aspiring for independence was actually a prince of the Gupta family whose power in the western part of the empire was already on the decline. It is interesting to note that West Malwa is known to have been freed from Hūṇa occupation Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana of the Aulikara family that was originally subordinate to the Imperial Guptas.[9] Even in East Malwa not the Imperial Guptas, but a different ruling family is found established after the expulsion of the Hūṇas.[10] This new dynasty is called the "Later Gupta" which is however a misnomer. They neither claim connection with the Guptas, nor do they call their family *Gupta*, and at least the name of one of the members, Ādityasena, has nothing to do with that word. The early members of this family were apparently subordinate to the Imperial Guptas; but during the Hūṇa trouble about the beginning of the sixth century, Kṛṣṇa Gupta appears to have assumed independence. About the final collapse of the Imperial Gupta power in the middle of the sixth century A.D., the Maukharis were powerful in parts of Bihar and U.P.[11]; but they had to contend with the Gauḍas in the east and the line of Kṛṣṇa Gupta in the west.

8 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 403ff.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 386ff, 393ff, 504.

10 Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta, sons of Mahāsena Gupta, are referred to in the *Harṣacarita* as "sons of the king of Mālava." Deva Gupta who apparently drove away the above princes and occupied the throne of Mahāsena Gupta is likewise represented as king of Mālava. This Deva Gupta in alliance with Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa defeated and killed Maukhari Grahavarman and occupied Kanauj for a time. He was next defeated by Rājyavardhana king of Thaneswar. Both West and East Malwa were very soon occupied by the Kaṭaccuris whose original territory may have been about the city of Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā. This northward push of the Kaṭaccuris may have been due to Cālukya pressure from the south. But they were soon subdued by Harṣa who must have made his position in Malwa secure before advancing against the Maitraka kingdom.

11 That the Maukharis styled themselves as lords of Magadha is suggested in an inscription of the Somavaṃśīs of South Kosala. A brother's son of Tivara (*c.* 565-80; cf. *I.H.Q.*, XIX, p. 144) is said to have married the daughter of a *nṛpa* (prince) named Sūryavarman, "born in the family of the Varmans who were great

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3. *Seal of Bhāskaravarman.*

A seal of Bhāskaravarman, the celebrated king of Kāmarūpa in the first half of the seventh century A.D., has been found at Nālandā.[1] It may be suggested that after the death of his powerful friend Harṣa, Bhāskaravarman occupied parts of Bengal and Bihar and that the seal belongs to the period of Kāmarūpa occupation of Nālandā. But the suggestion regarding the occupation of Bihar is rendered doubtful by the fact that Harṣa probably established the "Later Guptas" in Magadha during the concluding years of his life.[2]

The seal may then be connected with Bhāskaravarman's stay in South Bihar in the year 643 A.D. The story as given in the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* is worth quoting.[3]

Harṣa Śīlāditya came to Orissa after the subjugation of Koṅgoda (East Ganjam). When he was progressing through Orissa, local Buddhist monks of the Hīnayāna school showed him a book that had been written for showing up certain Mahāyāna doctrines. Harṣa who is reported to have had Mahā-

owing to their suzerainty over Magadha" (*M.K.H.S. Papers*, II, p. 19: निष्पङ्के मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्म्मणां.....यामासाद्य सुतां हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्यवर्म्मा नृपः). Raychaudhuri's identification of this Sūryavarman with the son of Īśānavarman, mentioned in the Haraha inscription (553-54 A.D.), is justifiable (*Pol. Hist.*, p. 512, n). There is hardly place for a Varman dynasty in Magadha, other than the Maukhari. For Maukhari epigraphs in Bihar, cf. Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1603-05, 2079-81. Magadha was after them under Śaśāṅka, Harṣa, the Later Guptas, the Gauḍa contemporary of Yaśovarman, the Pālas of Bengal and the Pratihāras of Kanauj. Pūrṇavarman, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as a local ruler of Magadha possibly belonged to the Maukhari family. Maukhari Bhogavarman ruled somewhere in Bihar or U.P. as a feudatory of Ādityasena.

1 *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 69.

2 After Mahāsena Gupta's death, his sons were driven out by Deva Gupta and were compelled to take shelter at the Court of Thanesar. Prabhākaravardhana was probably the sister's son of Mahāsena Gupta. Kumāra Gupta, son of Mahāsena Gupta, is known to have been installed as a king by Harṣa (*Harṣacarita*, Parab, p. 91: अत्र देवेनाभिषिक्तः कुमारः) but possibly he did not get back his paternal kingdom in Malwa. This Kumāra of the *Harṣacarita* can not be identified with Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa as the latter was already a crowned king when he came into contact with Harṣa. Ādityasena, son of Kumāra Gupta's brother Mādhava Gupta, ruled in 672-73 and was "the lord of Magadha" according to a Nepal inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 181). The inscriptions of Ādityasena and his successors are found in the Magadha region. Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 200ff., 208ff., 211ff., 213ff.

3 Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-73.

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yāna leanings then wrote to Śīlabhadra, head of the Nālandā University, requesting him to send to Orissa four learned Mahāyāna monks. Hiuen Tsang who was then living at Nālandā wrote another book in order to refute the arguments contained in the work of the Orissan monks. This book was presented to Harṣa who was however not pressing for his previous request. After returning from the Koṅgoda expedition, Harṣa heard that Hiuen Tsang was residing with Kumāra or Bhāskaravarman at the court of Kāmarūpa. He bade Bhāskaravarman through a messenger to send Hiuen Tsang to him at once. Bhāskaravarman replied, "He can take my head; but he cannot take the Master of Law yet." Harṣa was greatly enraged and exclaimed, "Kumārarāja despises me. How comes he to use such coarse language in the matter of a single priest?" Then he sent another messenger with the words, "Send the head, that I may have it immediately by my messenger who is to bring it to me." Bhāskaravarman, deeply alarmed, immediately ordered his army of 20,000 elephants and 30,000 ship to be equipped. Then taking Hiuen Tsang with him he passed up the Ganges in order to reach the place where Harṣa was residing. When they arrived at the country of Kanjaṅgala (Rajmahal), Bhāskaravarman placed Hiuen Tsang in a pavilion-of-travel recently constructed on the north bank of the Ganges and himself with his ministers went to meet Harṣa on the same bank of the river. When told that Hiuen Tsang was at a pavilion-of-travel, Harṣa expressed his desire to see him there. That evening Bhāskaravarman was waiting for Harṣa. About the first watch of night, it was reported to him that there were several thousand lighted torches on the river and that the sound of beating of drums was heard. He said, "This is Śīlādityarāja approaching." He immediately ordered his men to take torches in hand and himself with his ministers went forth a long way to meet Harṣa. "As Śīlādityarāja marched, he was always accompanied by several hundred persons with golden drums who beat one stroke for every step taken; they called these 'the music-pace-drums.' Śīlāditya alone used the method—other kings were not permitted to adopt it."[4]

From the above accounts two things are perfectly clear. Harṣa apparently passed from Orissa to Kajaṅgala through the Gauḍa country (Murshidabad region). Gauḍa therefore had been humbled before 643 A.D. The fact that the large naval and elephant forces of Bhāskaravarman easily

4 *Loc. cit.*, p. 173.

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traversed Bengal without reference to any other king's territory shows that the whole of Bengal lay prostrate at the feet of Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman and that the great Śaśāṅka (*c.* 600-625), emperor of Gauḍa, was no more. If the *Ārya-mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[5] reference to Harṣa's victory over Śaśāṅka at the battle of Puṇḍravardhana (Mahāsthān in Bogra Dist.) be authentic, Śaśāṅka may be supposed to have been once the suzerain of North Bengal. There is thus reason to believe that the rulers of Gauḍa,[6] Vaṅga and Puṇḍravardhana were about the year 643 subordinate to the confederacy of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa. But the above account also proves beyond doubt that whatever may have been the respective position of the two allies in the earlier years, about A.D. 643 at least, the position of Bhāskaravarman was no better than that of a subordinate friend of Harṣa. Bhāskaravarman's personal attendance to Harṣa's court and the facts that he moved for a considerable period of time in Harṣa's company and that he was apparently not allowed to use the "music-pace-drum" go to prove the point.

In this connection it may be pointed out that Dhruvabhaṭa or Dhruvasena III, king of Valabhī, was another subordinate ally of Harṣa; but his position at Harṣa's court appears to have been inferior to that of the king of Kāmarūpa. When at the assembly at Kanauj, Harṣa assumed the

5 Ed. Sankrityayana, p. 52 (verses 722-25).

6 There are traces of the continuity of Gauḍa history during the period between the death of Śaśāṅka (*c.* 625 A.D.) and the conquest of Gauḍa by Dharmapāla. According to the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Śaśāṅka was succeeded after a short period of confusion by his son Mānava who had a short reign. Another king of Gauḍa is Jayanāga who issued the Bappaghoṣavāṭa grant possibly in the third year of his reign. The *AMMK.*, however, appears to place him earlier than Śaśāṅka, In the first quarter of the eighth century Gauḍa became very powerful under a king who was also the lord of Magadha. Magadha was apparently conquered by the Gauḍa king from the "Later Guptas." This Gauḍa king was the contemporary of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. He cannot be identified with Jīvitagupta II who was not a Gauḍa. The Gauḍa contemporaries of the Kashmir kings Lalitāditya and Vinayāditya may have been successors of this ruler. According to Jain traditions, Vākpati, author of the *Gauḍavaho*, originally flourished at the Gauḍa court (Tripathi, *Kanauj*, p. 210). They also refer to a Gauḍa king named Dharma who fought with Āma, the alleged son and successor of Yaśovarman (*ibid.*, p. 211). A Gauḍa king named Bhaṭa apparently connected with this line of kings is mentioned in the Chatsu inscription of Guhila Bālāditya. Bhaṭa appears to have been a contemporary of Dharmapāla, son of Gopāla who secured a kingdom in East Bengal about the middle of the eighth century; but Dharmapāla soon extended his political influence as far as Kanauj in the west.

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rôle of Śakra and his friend Bhāskaravarman that of Brahman, Harṣa's son-in-law Dhruvabhaṭa was not called to assume any rôle of importance. His personal attendance at the court of Harṣa also speaks of his subsidiary position. He was defeated by Harṣa, was driven out of his country and was compelled to take shelter at the court of Gurjara Dadda II of Lāṭa.[7] Later he accepted the terms of peace offered by the Kanauj king along with the hand of the latter's daughter. Harṣa did nothing unusual in reinstating him as king of Valabhī, because the Maitraka friendship was of considerable value to the king of Kanauj who was afraid of a northward move on the part of Pulakeśin II of the Deccan. The suggestion that Dadda, Dhruvabhaṭa and Pulakeśin formed a confederacy and jointly defeated Harṣa appears to be unwarranted. Had Dadda any share in the glory of defeating Harṣa, it is most unlikely that he would remain satisfied with the simple claim of having given shelter to the Maitraka king defeated by the North Indian emperor. Indian princes are never known to have erred on the side of moderation.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Haihaya Coins of Mahākosala

Some scholars do not favour the suggestion that Ratnarāja (Ratneśa), his son Pṛthvīdeva I and his grandson Jājalladeva I were rulers of Mahākosala, because there is no clear reference to their supremacy over that province in their own records. They are simply described as *Tummāṇādhipati*, lords of Tummāṇa (*Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 82). The coins of these rulers are therefore usually described as those of the Haihayas of Tummāṇa and Ratnapura and not as those of the Haihayas of Mahākosala. Some scholars, again, think that Ratnarāja (Ratneśa) and Pṛthvīdeva I, who were merely local chiefs, did not issue any coins at all and that Jājalladeva I, who secured for himself an independent status, was the first in the family to issue coins.

We have no document of the reign of Ratnarāja (Ratneśa); but the Amoda plates of the Cedi year 831 = A.D. 1079 describe Pṛthvīdeva I as

7 परमेश्वरश्रीहर्षदेवाभिभूतवलभीपतित्राणोपजातभ्रमददभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितानः श्रीदद्दः, *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, pp. 77-79.

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sakala-kosal-ādhipati, lord of the entire Kosala (cf. ततः पृथ्वीदेवः ... अनेन ... सकलकोसलाधिपतिना परममाहेश्वरेण कलचुरिवंशोद्भवेनेत्यादिसमस्तराजावलीविराजमान महामण्डलेश्वरेण etc., *E.I.*, XIX, p. 75ff.). It is thus clear that Pṛthvīdeva I had supremacy over the entire Kosala kingdom, although he was only a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara in status. It seems that Kaliṅgarāja, who originally conquered South Kosala, founded a new principality with its capital at Tummāṇa. Tummāṇa was a *maṇḍala*, district, to the extreme north of the Dakṣiṇakosala country. But it must be remembered that later records describe Tummāṇa as "the capital formerly established by an ancestor (*pūrvaja*) of Kaliṅgarāja." The hold of this *pūrvaja* of Kaliṅgarāja on Tummāṇa appears to have been short-lived, as Kaliṅgarāja is said to have regained South Kosala with the prowess of his two arms (cf. दक्षिणकोशलो जनपदो बाहुद्वयेनार्जितः, *E.I.*, I, p. 45ff.). Kamalarāja, son of Kaliṅgarāja, is called *Tummāṇādhipati* in one record. This prince vanquished the ruler of Utkala and added to the prosperity of Gāṅgeyadeva, the lord of the Cedi country. Kamalarāja's son Ratnarāja (Ratneśa) established himself firmly and advanced further south. He removed the capital from Tummāṇa to Ratnapura, named after himself and lying about 45 miles to the south of Tummāṇa. Ratnarāja then appears to have become an independent ruler of the northern part of South Kosala including the *maṇḍalas* of Tummāṇa, Talahāri, Komo, Yayapara and Anarghavalli. There is no doubt that he was a powerful prince; but his son Pṛthvīdeva I was more powerful, as he apparently consolidated the position. It is therefore very probable that Pṛthvīdeva I was the first issuer of coins in the family. The Hanumān type coins were probably his earliest issues. His Hanumān type copper coins are thick and circular in shape with the legend *Śrīmat-Pṛthvīdevaḥ* in two lines. Their weight is 7 *māṣas* when in good state of preservation.

Jājalladeva I, son of Pṛthvīdeva I, at first imitated the Hanumān type issues of his father. The legend on his coins is *Śrīmajjājalladevaḥ* in two lines. This king defeated Bhujabala lord of Suvarṇapura (modern Sonepur on the Mahānadī in Sambalpur Dist.) and was honoured by the princes of Kānyakubja and Jejābhukti as a great warrior, for he had fought against Andhra Khimidi, Vairāgarh (Chanda Dist.), Laujika, Nandavali, Kukkut, Bhānārā, etc. Jājalladeva I probably issued, after these successes, coins of a new archer type a couple of which are preserved in my cabinet.

The son and successor of Jājalladeva was Ratnadeva II who is described as *sakala-kosalamaṇḍanaśrī* and as vanquisher of Coḍagaṅga lord of

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Kaliṅganagara. He issued the coins of the rampant lion (facing mostly to right) type. Three sizes of both silver and copper coins were issued by this king—big, medium and small. His *dināra* of small size may be an imitation of the gold coins of Coḍagaṅga whose hoards of coins siezed by him were made to rain over Sonepur as gold drops.

Pṛthvīdeva II, Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva III imitated the lion device of Ratnadeva II; but these later issues have less pure gold and thinner plates of copper for the gold and copper coins.

It appears that the Haihaya princes issued silver coins very rarely. I have found only three silver coins of Pṛthvīdeva who is presumably Pṛthvīdeva II. One of the three coins is lost; the other two weigh about 3 *raktikās* or 5½ grains. The device is indistinct, but may have been a lion.

The latest coins of the family belong to Pratāpamalladeva, son and successor of Ratnadeva III. The device is a lion and a sword or dagger. No gold or silver coins of this prince are known. The above are copper issues of a circular shape. I have found only two hexagonal coins with the legend *Śrīmatpratāpamalladevaḥ* in three lines in Nāgarī characters of the 12th century A.D. Since I published a note on these coins in *IHQ.*, III, p. 175, two copper-plate grants of Pratāpamalladeva dated in the Cedi years 905 and 967 have been discovered. It is interesting to note that the seals attached to these grants bear the representation of a dagger or drawn sword with the inscription *rāja-śrīmatpratāpamalladevaḥ*.

Some scholars refer to the country of these Haihayas as Eastern Cedi and not as Mahākosala. The name Eastern Cedi is never used as the name of their territory by the Haihaya princes of Tummāṇa and Ratnapura. Their separate coinage and devices possibly suggest that they were not under the Cedi kings of Tripurī. As to the origin of the Hanumān type it may be pointed out that the Haihayas were Śaivas and that Keśarī, father of Hanumān, is one of the *gaṇas* or attendants of Śiva. Hanumān may also have been quite a popular deity to be taken as a device.

L. P. Pandeya Sarma

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REVIEWS

ŚRĪ PĀÑCARĀTRARAKSĀ of Śrī Vedānta Deśika, critically edited with notes and variant readings by Vaidyaratna Paṇḍit M. Duraiswami Aiyangar and Vedāntaśiromaṇi Paṇḍit T. Venugopalacharya. With an introduction in English by G. Srinivasa Murti, Honorary Director, Adyar Library. The Adyar Library Series—No. 36. Adyar, Madras.

Digests based on old and original Āgama or Tantra works do not seem to have received at the hands of modern scholars as much attention as they so richly deserve, owing to the fact that they contain indications about the age, authority and significance of particular texts. The hostile attitude with regard to Tantric rites and practices noticed among scholars and average men of culture of the last generation was due in no small degree to a partial acquaintance with the Tantra literature excluding the digests. It is therefore gratifying to find that these works are gradually gaining a place of honour among the world of scholars and critical editions of a number of them have been published.

The work under review which deals with the rules of the daily duties of the followers of the Pañcarātra school, discusses the position occupied by them in the Vedic hierarchy and their relation to the rites sanctioned by the Smṛtis, is edited with the help of six manuscripts and four printed editions none of which is stated to be satisfactory. Variants from these are recorded in the footnotes.[1] It is a curious coincidence that a considerably big lacuni occurs in the middle of chapter 3 (p. 147 of the present edition) in all the manuscripts and printed editions consulted by the learned editors.[2] Thus

1 Variants from other sources may also be pointed out here and there. Thus the first line of the first verse at p. 169 reads अपवित्रः पवित्रो वा in ritualistic works in Bengal.

2 Similar phenomena are noticed in some other cases also. Thus a number of verses are recorded to be missing in the manuscripts of the *Kodaṇḍamaṇḍana*, (a work on *dhanurveda*) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Portions of two chapters of an 18th century work—the *Saṅgitasārāmṛta* of Tulaja—are not traceable in any of its available manuscripts (Cf. p. ix of the work as published in the Music Academy Series 5).

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what appears to be a very important section treating of the rules of daily worship is lost. The work does not generally refer to the sources of the numerous extracts quoted to substantiate various statements. And the learned editors have spared no pains to identify most of them in the appendix of quotations. In a separate appendix we find the names of authors and works referred to or utilised. There are two introductions—one in Sanskrit by the editors and the other in English by Mr. G. Srinivasa Murti, Honorary Director, Adyar Library,—which besides describing the critical apparatus, give a brief survey of Āgama literature, with special reference to the Pañcarātra literature which forms a part of the former. A sad omission that strikes an inquisitive reader is the absence of any reference to digests. A good number of works of this type is occasionally mentioned in the work under review and short accounts of at least these latter would have been highly welcome. A reference is made in the Sanskrit introduction to the shadow of obscurity surrounding the term *Pañcarātra*, as evidenced by the conflicting views regarding its true import. Attention may be drawn here to the use of the word in connection with a Śaiva ritual e.g., the *Śivarātrivrata*, popular in Eastern India,[3] as well as to Pañcarātra works associated with the names of different deities like Śiva, Devī, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and Brahman.[4] The English Introduction gives a brief account of the life and works of the author, Vedānta Deśika, who is held in great esteem by the Vaiṣṇavas of the Pañcarātra school. It will thus be seen that all attempts have been made to render the work useful in every way. It will serve as a good introduction to all students eager to be familiar with the Pañcarātra system. Like other publications of the Adyar Library, the present volume also leaves nothing to be desired as regards printing and get-up.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

3 पञ्चरात्रविधानेन मूलमन्त्रेणचैव हि । पूजयेन्मां यथाशक्ति नृत्यगीतादिभिर्नरः ॥
—*Śivarātrivrata-kathā* attributed to the *Śivarahasya*.

4 शिवपञ्चरात्र, देवीपञ्चरात्र, विष्णुपञ्चरात्र, गणेशपञ्चरात्र, ब्रह्मपञ्चरात्र
—*Kavīndrācārya List* (G.O. Series), p. 23.

भागवतपञ्चरात्रागम —*Ibid.*, p. 27.

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THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA by A C. Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S. (Published by A. Mukherjee & Bros.) Pp. 431.

Prof. A. C. Banerjee, M.A., author of the work "Peshwa Madhav Rao I," is responsible for this valuable dissertation on the policy pursued by the British in the North-East of India from 1792-1826. The North-Eastern Frontier is a neglected subject of Indian History, the North-West monopolising our attention. In very recent times the North-East has come into prominence. But this very sober and sedate study is not a product of the war. The book was actually finished a few months before the declaration of war by Japan.

The sources utilised are exhaustive—the records in the Imperial Record Department, old Burmese Historical works, Assamese Burañjis, published Bengali documents, and contemporary and semi-contemporary works in English on Burma and Assam. This very detailed and exhaustive study is divided into seven chapters beginning with "Captain Welsh in Assam, 1792-94" and ending with "The Anglo-Burmese treaties of 1826." Excellent maps help the reader to understand the very difficult topography. The published books on Burma and Assam are too brief and slipshod to give the advanced student an adequate idea of the growth of British policy in this region. Prof. Banerjee's book should therefore be regarded as the work of a pioneer. A student of the general history of India, who possibly thinks that the North-East is not his concern, will also find in this book facts that he does not know about the policy of Non-intervention as pursued by Cornwallis and Shore, the anti-Gallican measures of Wellesley in the East, the mistakes and the fumblings of Amherst, and the views of Sir Thomas Munro relating to British military operations in Burma.

N. K. Sinha

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 66: NĀLANDĀ AND ITS EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL, by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt. Published by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi, 1942. Pages 133, with 13 plates.

The volume under review is an important addition to the literature on Indian epigraphy and archæology. The work is divided into two sections,

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the first of which is styled *Introduction* and deals with such topics as Nālandā from Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jain, Tibetan and Chinese sources. The second section called *Remains of Nālandā* deals with the structural remains, clay seals, inscriptions and sculptures discovered at the site. There is an Index and a large number of illustrations mostly of the seals, inscriptions and sculptures. But a map of the Nālandā (modern Bargāon in the Patna District) or of the excavated area is wanting.

There is no doubt that the book under review will prove useful to all students of the early history of India. A careful perusal of the work however leaves the impression that it has been rather hurriedly written. This is suggested by the fact that a considerably large number of emendations in Dr. Sastri's readings of the epigraphs has been offered by an anonymous "editor" and that, in many of these cases, Dr. Sastri appears to be clearly in the wrong. There are moreover numerous inaccuracies which have escaped even the notice of the "editor." Cf. *Tārānātha* for *Tāranātha* (p. 6); *paramabhāgavata* inserted in l. 5 of the seal of Budha Gupta (p. 64); *guptasya* for *guptas = tasya* in l. 4 of the seal of Vainya Gupta (p. 67); *pura* for *pūru* which is perfectly clear in l. 6 of the seal of Narasimha Gupta, (p. 65; cf. Pl. VIII. 6; *ru* is also clear in l. 6 of the seal of Kumāra Gupta, Pl. VIII. d); the Mallasārul inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 1935-36, p. 155 ff.) not recognised as an epigraph of the time of king Gopacandra of Bengal (p. 29). As to the name of the locality both *Nālanda* and *Nālandā* appear to have been in use, though the learned author rejects the first form. We note that Dr. Sastri still reads *dharmasetoḥ* for *varmasetoḥ* in l. 59 of the Nālandā grant of Devapāla (p. 99) and that he keeps silent about his unwarranted theory regarding the identification of Yaśovarman of the Nālandā record with Yaśodharman of the Mandasor epigraphs (pp. 78-79).

Some of Dr. Sastri's statements do not appear to be quite convincing. He says, e.g., "Nālandā must be a very old name, for it was current at the time of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra and of Gautama Buddha, *i.e.*, about the sixth century B.C." (p. 3). Passages referring to Nālandā, quoted by the author from Buddhist and Jain literature, are however much later than the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra and their value is rendered very doubtful by Fa-hien's (399-414 A.D.) silence about the locality. We fail to understand why a section of the book is styled *References in Brahmanical Literature* (p. 14) where the author only brings in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. As a matter of fact, however, the *Arthaśāstra* has absolutely nothing to do

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with Nālandā. It is again a matter of regret that the valuable seal of Bhagavaccandra, supposed to be the son of the sister's son of Gopacandra (pp. 29-30), has not been described in details.

Inspite of such defects as the above, the *Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material* with its numerous illustrations will no doubt prove valuable to students of Hindu history. The symbol for 10 in l. 1 of the inscription of Mahendrapāla (Pl. XI. d) is interesting as it resembles closely the symbol for the same number occurring in the Midnapore Sāhitya Parishat copper-plate inscriptions of the time of king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, edited with plates in *Pravāsī* (Beng.), Śrāvan, 1350 B.S., p. 291 ff.

We congratulate the learned author who even in his age has been able to produce a work of this type.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

AITIHĀSIKA JAINA-KĀVYA-SAÑGRAHA by Messers Agarchand and Bhanwarlal Nahata. Published by Messers Shankardan Shubhairaj Nahata, Armenian Street, Calcutta.

The readers of the *Quarterly* are already familiar with this work through Professor Kalipada Mitra's learned paper "Historical References in Jaina poems," published in vol. XVIII, pp. 101-110. But Prof. Mitra has utilised only a few out of the 193 *kāvyas* comprised in this excellent collection of 504 pages.

The book is useful for historical as well as philological studies. On the historical side, it is a valuable source-book bringing before our eyes, through its kāvyas, the story of the development of *Śvetāmbara* religious bodies, specially the Kharataragaccha during the last one thousand years or so and of the contacts that they established with many important rulers of the period. The very first *kāvya* in the *Saṅgraha* shows the Kharataragaccha teacher Jinadatta Sūri (1169-1211 V.E.) delivering a religious message to Kumārapāla of Tribhuvanagiri (modern Tahangarh). It mentions also Babberā, the town where the Muslim army is known to have encamped in the expedition against Vigraharāja IV of Śākambharī described in the pages of the *Lalitavigraharāja* drama of Somadeva. Three poems are devoted to the Jaina *ācārya* Jinaprabha Sūri. As these have been al-

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ready noticed and discussed by Prof. Mitra in the article referred to above, it is hardly necessary to say anything more about them. "Aśvapati Kutubudina" who too is said to have honoured this Sūri is obviously Kutbuddin Khilji, one of the successors of Alāuddin. *Kāvya* 13 mentions Kutbuddin as diverted by another ācārya, Jinacandra (1341-1377 V.E.) of the Kharataragaccha. As the information thus supplied belongs to a contemporary composition and can be verified also by a reference to the *Paṭṭāvali* finished in 1393 V.E., we must give Kutbuddin the credit of having been a fairly tolerant monarch, very much different from his father Alāuddin whose counsellers expected that the Hindus would or, at least, should tender gold when asked for silver and open their mouths without hesitation if the tax-collector chose to spit there.[1] A number of *kāvyas* deals with the Jaina ācāryas who influenced Akbar, the great Mughal emperor. Especially interesting, because of the new information that they supply are the *gītas* devoted to Sādhu-kīrti, a Kharataragaccha scholar who defeated Buddhisāgara of the Tapagaccha in a debate held at the court of Akbar in 1625 V.E. (1568 A.D.). This combined with the data contained in the *Akabarasābi-Śṛṅgāradarpaṇa* would show how early the Jainas had begun to come into contact with Akbar and to influence his religious policy.[2] Very much fuller and useful information can also be gleaned from the *gītas* of Jinacandra Sūri, to whom along with Hīravijaya Sūri belongs the credit of having deeply influenced the religious convictions of Akbar. Students of Mughal religious policy can hardly afford to neglect the material collected by our compilers.

In some cases the details given by the *gītas* can be proved to be wrong. But this only means that they have to be used with some caution by the historians who must first of all somehow find which of them are contemporary or very early and therefore more reliable than the others.

On the philological side, the value of the book is even greater, for it is the first collection that I have seen which gives useful samples of Rājasthānī as it was spoken from the 12th to the 19th century A.D.

1 Barani—*Tārikh-i-Firūzshāhi*, pp. 290-291.

2 For the data in the *Akabarasāhi-Śṛṅgāradarpaṇa* see my paper to be published shortly in the *ABORI*.

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The book is, on the whole, a meritorious production, though its utility would have been immensely increased if the authors had arranged these linguistic specimens in a strictly chronological order and tried in the Introduction to shift thoroughly the historical material contained therein. Let us hope that they would supply this deficiency in the second edition of the book and let us have also, if possible, a short essay on the evolution of Rājasthānī from 1000 A.D. to the present day.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION WAR BACKGROUND STUDIES: SIAM—LAND OF FREE MEN, by H. G. Deignan; EGYPT AND THE SUEZ CANAL, by Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr. 1943.

These interesting pamphlets aim at providing the general reader with short historical accounts of the countries and peoples occupying a prominent position in the present war. There are good maps and illustrations explaining the text. The pamphlet on Egypt is specially interesting, for within a brief compass it gives us a brilliant survey of the vicissitudes of Egyptian history. It also contains a good bibliography. The most refreshing feature of these studies is that they are objective studies, not propaganda.

A. C. BANERJEE

CEYLON UNDER THE BRITISH OCCUPATION, 1795-1833, 2 Vols. (Vol. I, Second Edition, 1942. Vol. II, First Edition, 1942). By Colvin R. De Silva, B.A., Ph.D. (London), Bar-at-Law. The Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd., Colombo, Ceylon. Price Rs. 6/50 & Rs. 7/50.

This eminently readable and well-documented work gives us a detailed and accurate account of the early period of British rule in Ceylon. The introductory chapter sketches the rivalry of the Portuguese and the Dutch for the possession of this important island. There is a brief but interesting account of the Dutch administrative system in Ceylon. The author explains the reasons for the collapse of the Dutch power in the later years of the eighteenth century. Precarious finance, military degeneration, laxity in administration accompanied by unnecessary severity of legislation, nepotism and favouritism, absence of healthy public opinion—these are some of the factors which made the Dutch power an easy prey to the British. The

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history of the British occupation of the maritime provinces is narrated in some detail, and the intimate connection between this incident and the then political situation in Europe is well brought out. The author shows the incorrectness of the idea that the British were pledged to return the maritime provinces to the Dutch at a general peace. The occupation of the maritime provinces was necessarily followed by the fall of the Kandyan kingdom, which the author narrates with a very interesting wealth of detail in four chapters covering 138 pages. We get a vivid picture of the internal conditions of this land-locked kingdom: the unhealthy rivalry between the Ceylonese and the Tamil settlers, the desire to utilise foreign assistance for the solution of domestic difficulties, political intrigues culminating in the accession of an obscure Ceylon-born Nayakkar (Sri Vikrama Rajasinha) who later on kicked away the ladder and became a despot, the ever-shifting diplomacy of Pilima Talauve and Ahalepola, administrative disorganisation, and the oppression and tyranny of the provincial magnates. "The fall of the Kandyan kingdom in 1815", says the author, "resulted directly from its domestic occurrences". The two wars which culminated in British annexation were primarily due to the ambitious intrigues of Pilima Talauve and Ahalepola. But the author does not excuse the British. The 'violation' of British territory by the Kandyan troops was, says he, "merely a convenient pretext for an invasion which had previously been decided on for reasons amounting, in sum, to no more than expediency and advantageous circumstances". The extraordinary ease with which the conquest of Kandy was accomplished in a campaign of only forty days was ascribed by Brownrigg to a "total want of any organised plan of defence or any respectable effort of resistance", which was due to the disloyalty of the entire body of chiefs and the disaffection of the common people. After the annexation there were unsuccessful rebellions, for the chiefs were uneasy under the new regime, and the *Sangha* viewed the ascendancy of a Christian government as a distinct menace to Buddhism.

By far the largest portion of the book deals with the administration and economic condition of Ceylon during the period 1795-1833. It is a very competent survey, and includes separate chapters on administration, Judiciary, Land Tenure, Agriculture, Trade, Public Revenue and Finance. The author possesses intimate local knowledge, and, besides being a trained historian, is a lawyer. He is, therefore, exceptionally competent to deal with

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these matters. There are two useful maps which considerably assist the non-Ceylonese reader to follow the narrative. The author has relied throughout on unpublished sources, although he has made full use of published works, both contemporary and later. The Index is exhaustive.

A. C. Banerjee

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol. XXIV, parts I-II (1943)

S. M. KATRE.—*Influence of Popular Dialects on Sanskrit.*

P. K. GODE.—*Rāghava Āpā Khāndekar of Puṇyastambha—His Works and Descendants.* Rāghava flourished in Mahārāṣṭra in the latter half of the 18th century. His literary output includes two Sanskrit poems, one lexicon, two works on anthology, several treatises on astrology and astronomy, and many stotras.

H. G. NARAHARI.—*Devayāna and Pitṛyāna.* The conception of the 'Doctrine of the Two Ways' found elaborated in the Upaniṣads is based on the theory of the indestructibility of the soul, which, as it is believed, continues its existence after death to reap the consequences of its deeds in life. The souls of the people of superior achievements travel by the 'way of the gods' (devayāna) which leads them to the gods or *Brahman*, helping in their final beatitude. The souls of the persons whose merits lie in the common virtues travel by 'the way of the fathers' (pitṛyāna) whence they have to return to the earth for rebirth after having enjoyed in company with the Fathers the rewards of the good deeds. The discussions in the paper show that the seers of the Ṛgveda were not unfamiliar with this Upaniṣadic conception.

LILADHAR B. KENY.—*The supposed Identification of Udayana of Kauśāmbi with Udayin of Magadha.* The conclusion reached in the paper is that Udayana of Vatsa was different from Udayin of Magadha, the two kings being not even contemporaneous.

N. J. SHENDE.—*The Authorship of the Mahābhārata.* Traditions recorded in Vedic literature, and accounts found in the *Mahābhārata*, show that the Bhṛgus and Aṅgirasas as the most influential Brāhmaṇas made united efforts as religious reformers championing the cause of Brāhmaṇism. They have utilised the saga of the Bharatas as the vehicle of instructing the people, and raised the fluid text of the Bhārata to the rank of the fifth Veda by adding episodes, incorporating legends, and introducing the Vaiṣṇava and Dharma-Nīti elements in the epic.

E. D. KULKARNI.—*Unpāṇinian Forms and Usages in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.*

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Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. X, no. 1 (January, 1943)

P. C. Bagchi.—*Twelve Years of Wandering Life of Buddha.* The contents of a short Chinese treatise entitled *She eul yen king* (Sūtra on the twelve years of the wandering life of Buddha) are discussed in the paper. The Sanskrit rendering of the name of the text is given in Nanjio's Catalogue as *Dvādaśa(varṣa)vihāraṇasūtra.* Two other Chinese versions of the same work are known to have once existed. The translation under discussion was made at Nankin in 392 A.C. by Kālodaka. Dealing with the first twelve years of Buddha's career as a religious teacher, the work gives the legendary accounts of the Master's life in the Asaṃkheya Kalpa and Bhadra Kalpa. A history of the Śākya race with a description of the Jambudvīpa and its various regions also forms a part of the text. Certain details of the life of Buddha as given here are not found elsewhere.

R. C. Majumdar.—*The Rise of Sukhodaya.* An inscription found at Sukhodaya in Siam speaks of a struggle between a Kambuja general on the one hand and two Thai chiefs named Phō Khun Bāng Klāng Thao and Phō Khun Phā Muang on the other. The Kambuja army is said to have been defeated and driven away from Sukhodaya, whereupon its government was entrusted to Bāng Clāng by the victorious Phā Muang. This Phā Muang is stated to have married the daughter of the Kambuja king and obtained from him the title of Śrīndrapatīndrāditya and a sacred sword signifying perhaps the conferment of the heir-apparentship of the Kambuja kingdom on him. It is surmised that this Thai chief was none other than Śrīndravarman who ruled over the kingdom of Kambuja in the 13th century. his father-in-law king Jayavarman VIII abdicating the throne in his favour. His strife with a Kambuja general points to the struggle for succession with his brother-in-law, whom he subdued with the help of another Thai chief, rewarding his services by installing him on the throne of Sukhodaya.

—.—*The date of Accession of Jayavarman II.* The epigraphical records support the view that the Kambuja king Jayavarman II ascended the throne in 802 A.C. and not earlier.

U. N. Ghoshal.—*Progress of Greater Indian Research during the last Twenty-five Years, 1917-42.* This supplement to a substantial paper

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on the subject contains additions and corrections and bibliography of works on Greater India, region by region.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. 1943, pts. 1 & 2

ALFRED MASTER.—*The Mysterious Paiśācī.* The views that the Piśācas were a tribe living in N.W. India, speaking a dialect known as Paiśācī from which have descended the Modern Dardic and Kafir groups of languages and the suggestion that the Paiśācī spoken by the people of the Vindhyas was a form of Prakrit influenced by Dravidian, are not supported in this article. The paper collects literary evidence on the nature of the language of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā,* which is not available, but is known to have been written in Paiśācī or Bhūtabhāṣā. It is contended here that the Piśācas could not denote a particular race, nor could the term Paiśācī denote a particular type of language connected with their vernacular. The Dravidian root that may have formed the word Piśāca points to the meaning 'confusion of mind,' and the term is likely to have been used in the past for people whose language was unintelligible.

C. A. KINCAID.—*Laksmibai Rani of Jhansi.* Evidence is put forward to show that Lakshmibai who fell fighting was a gallant lady forced by events to join the Nana Sahib against the British. The charge that she ever caused murders or was a mutineer cannot be true.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Prāṇaciti.* The sense of the expression *Prāṇaciti* is discussed in the light of statements found in Vedic literature.

Nagpur University Journal, no. 8, (December, 1942)

T. J. KEDAR.—*A New Interpretation of a disputed Reference in Gargasaṃhitā.* Scholars differ as to the correct interpretation of the expression *ṣaṭdvikapañcadvi* found in the *Gargasaṃhitā* with reference to the interval of time that elapsed between the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira and the beginning of the Śaka era. A reading of the expression in the usual reverse order will yield 2526 years. But *dvika* means double or twice and not two. Hence *ṣaṭdvika* is twice six or 12 and *pañcadvi* is 52. This gives 1252. Yudhiṣṭhira's rule according to this interpretation, ended 1252 years before the Śaka era began in 78 A.C. i.e. in 1174 B.C.

H. C. SETH.—*Khāravela and Gardabhila.* The writer of the paper assigns king Khāravela of the Hathigumpha inscription to the early part of the 1st century A.C. and identifies him with Gardabhila of the Jain and

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Purāṇic traditions. Vakadepasiri or Śrī Vakradeva of the Mañcapurī inscription, surmised generally as the son of Khāravela, is taken here as Vikramāditya Śakāri, the traditional founder of the Mālava era in 58-57 B.C. It is stated in Jain works that the Śakas once defeated Gardabhila, but were after sometime themselves driven out of Ujjain by Vikramāditya, who afterwards removed the seat of his dynasty from Kaliṅga to Ujjain, and established an era in commemoration of his victory over the Śakas.

HIRALAL JAIN.—*Some Recent Finds of Apabhraṃśa Literature.* Contents of five Apabhraṃśa works in manuscript are described in the paper, The *Pajjuṇṇa-kathā* is a poem dealing with the life of Pradyumna Kumāra, a remarkable figure of the Jain hierarchy. The *Sukumāla-cariu* of Śrīdhara narrates the life of pious Sukumāra. The *Chakkammovaesa* is a treatise on the sixfold duties of a householder. The *Aṇuvaya-rayaṇa-paiya* of Lakṣmaṇa treats of the religious vows to be observed by the Jain householders. The *Neminähacariu* of Lakṣmaṇadeva describes the life of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, no. 2 (May, 1943)

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH.—*Turkish Attacks on Hindusthan in the 12th and 13th centuries.*

D. D. KOSAMBI.—*Race and Immunity in India.* In answer to an inquiry as to why the Hunzas are so extraordinarily healthy, some accounts are furnished regarding the racial affinity, habits, and diet of the Hunza tribe living in the isolated region near Ladakh.

Ibid., vol. VI, no. 3 (June, 1943)

B. BHAKTI.—*Certain Austro-Sanskrit Word-Correspondences.* The words like *Kāyastha, Vaṅga, śrī* (as suffix after river names), *saumāra* and *Hayagrīva,* which bear striking resemblances in sound and sense to non-Aryan Austric forms, have been examined to suggest their non-Aryan origin.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Ūnātiriktau and Atyāricyata.* It has been shown from the occurrences of the dual *ūnātiriktau* in Vedic literature "that Prajāpati as Progenitor and Ruler is to be regarded as a syzygy of conjoint principles, male and female." The meaning of the expression *atyaricyata* has also been discussed in this connection.

Y. R. GUPTE.—*Archæological Remains in Śanivāra Peth, Poona City.*

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Vaṅgāla-deśa

The province of Bengal was not known as such in early times. It was split up into a number of geographical divisions viz., Gauḍa, Rāḍhā, Vaṅga, Samataṭa etc. Sanskrit records from the eleventh century onwards occasionally refer to the country of Vaṅgāla. Originally Vaṅgāla was the name of a comparatively small tract of land. In course of time the neighbouring districts were also known by this name and ultimately the name was applied to the whole province.

It is admitted that Vaṅgāla is identical with Peng-ka-lo, Bangālah, and Bengala mentioned respectively in the Chinese, Moslem and European sources. The information furnished by all these records is given in this paper.[1]

1 Some are inclined to think that Vaṅgāla was originally distinct from Vaṅga. Their conclusions are based on the following informations: An inscription (*c.* 1200 A.D.) from Ablur, in the Dharwar district, states that the Kalacuri Bijjala (1156-1167 A.D.) defeated the Colas, Lāṭas, Nepālas, Andhras, Gurjaras, Cedis, ground Vaṅga in a mill, and fought and killed the kings of Baṅgāla, Kaliṅga, Magadha, Paṭaśvara, and Mālava (*EI.*, V. 257). An inscription from Mysore, dated 1190 A.D., reports that the Hoysala Bittideva "broke the bones of the Mālava, Cera, Kerala, Nolamba, Kadamba, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Baṅgāla, Varāla, Cola, Khasa, Barbbara, Oḍḍaha, and other kings, and brought them into submission to himself." (*EC.*, V, pt. I, Cn. 179, p. 202). *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandra Suri (14th century A.D.) relates that "the kings of Aṅga, Telaṅga, Magadha, Maisur, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Bhoṭa Medāpaṭa, Pañcāla, Baṅgāla, Thomim, Bhilla, Nepāla, Ḍāhala and some Himalayan chiefs sent help to Hammīra (A.D. 1288-1301) (*IA.*, VIII, 68). *Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhī* by Shams-i Siraj Afif 'mentions about the slaughter of the people of 'Bang and Bangala' (Elliot, III, 295).

As Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla have been mentioned side by side by the above authorities the former is to be taken to have been distinct from the latter. But this conclusion is faulty. Above reports from the epigraphic records and *Hammīra-mahākāvya* are vague generalisations without much historical value. Kalacuri

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Brahmanical and Buddhist sources

The Tirumalai Rock Inscription[2] of Rājendracola, dated 1025 A.D., states that the king seized Takkanalāḍam (Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā) whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra; Vaṅgāla-deśa, where the rain wind never stopped, (and from which) Govindacandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant; elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahīpāla, decked (as he was) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets; Uttiralāḍam (Uttara Rāḍhā), as rich in pearls as the ocean; and the Gaṅgā, whose waters dashed against bathing places (*tīrtha*) covered with sand." It follows from the above report that Rājendracola after conquering Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā invaded Vaṅgāla-deśa, which was under Govindacandra. He next defeated Mahīpāla. After this achievement he proceeded to Uttara-Rāḍhā and seized that country. Mahīpāla, the king of Gauḍa, or his predecessors are not known to have ever held sway over Rāḍhā. So it will be reasonable to assume that Rājendracola won victory over Mahīpāla somewhere in Gauḍa. It is thus certain that about this time Vaṅgāla was distinct from Gauḍa and Rāḍhā. The evidence,[3] hitherto available, estab-

Bijjala, Hoyasala Bittideva and the Cāhamāna Hamnīra were not powerful enough to lead expeditions against East Bengal. Major portions of these statements are the products of the imaginations of the *praśastikāras*, whose geographical knowledge is not very rarely found inaccurate. The Mysore inscription, referred to above, mentions Cera and Kerala side by side. But Cera is identical with Kerala. Bharata"s *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentions Avantika, Vidiśā, Mālava, Daśārṇa (GOS. No. LXVIII). But Vidiśā was the capital of Daśārṇa. Two inscriptions from South India, one dated A.D. 1168, and the other dated A.D. 1261, state that Rāḍhā was in Gauḍa (*JAHRS.*, IV, 158; Author's *Eastern Cālukyas*, p. 140). But Managoli Inscription (*EI.*, V, 29) of the Yādava Jaitugi mentions Lāla (Rāḍhā) and Gauḍa (Gauḍa) side by side.

Elliot translates the title of the 'Third Mukaddama', 'Kism' II, of *Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhī* by Afīf, as——"slaughter of one lakh of the people of Bang and Baṅgāla' (III, 295). But the text adopted in the Bib. Ind. ed. (p. 114) does not mention Bang, and runs—'one lakh and eighty thousand good men of Bangālah'. In the foot-note another reading of this portion of the text is given as—'a lakh of people of Bank and Bangālah—'. Hence no conclusion should be drawn on this statement of *Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhī*. The same work elsewhere mentions that Sonārgāon (in the Dacca Dist.) was in the heart of Bangālah. (Elliot, III, p. 305).

2 *EI.*, IX, 233.

3 Betka Image Inscription of Govindacandra, *AN. Rep. Dac. M.*, 1941-42, p. 11.

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lishes that Govindacandra was the ruler of the Dacca district, which was situated in Vaṅga.[4] So the normal conclusion will be that the Dacca district was situated in the Vaṅgāla-deśa. Though it cannot be definitely laid down that Vaṅga was identical with Vaṅgāla it may, however, be reasonably assumed that at least one was a division of the other.

The Nālandā Inscription[5] of the Buddhist teacher Vipulaśrīmitra was issued in the first half of the twelfth century A.D. Vipulaśrīmitra's preceptor was Aśokaśrīmitra, whose preceptor was Maitriśrīmitra. Maitriśrīmitra's preceptor was Karuṇāśrīmitra. The above inscription relates that in the Somapura-vihāra there was the ascetic Karuṇāśrīmitra, "who when his house was burning, (being) set on fire by the approaching armies of Vaṅgāla (*Vaṅgāla-balair*) attached (himself) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha, (and) went to heaven." Somapura is the modern Paharpur in the Rajshahi district. *Vaṅgāla-balair* obviously means the army of the king of Vaṅgāla. As Vipulaśrīmitra flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, Karuṇāśrīmitra, during whose time the invasion of Varendrī (in which was situated Paharpur) by the Vaṅgāla king took place, may be placed in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Jātavarman of the Varman dynasty flourished in the third quarter of the eleventh century A.D. He brought 'to disgrace the strength of the arms of Divya', the king of Varendrī, and extended his domination 'over the Aṅgas.'[6] No other king either from East or South Bengal is known to have invaded Varendrī about this time. So the king of Vaṅgāla, referred to in the Paharpur Inscription, may reasonably be identified with Jātavarman. The Varmans ruled their kingdom from Vikramapura in the Dacca district. All these also indicate that the Dacca district was about this time situated in the Vaṅgāla country.[7]

4 Scholars are unanimous in thinking that Govindacandra succeeded to the throne of Śrīcandra, who ruled from Vikramapura. Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā was bounded on the north by the Ajai river, which flows to the Ganges to the north of Navadvīpa, in the Nadia district. Rājendracola seems to have crossed the Ganges near the Ajai river and advanced through Nadia and Faridpur towards Vikramapura. The suggestion that Rājendracola, having crossed the Ganges, attacked the Sundarban region is without any value. The Cola king certainly did not choose a passage for advance, which is intersected by numerous rivers and creeks.

5 *EI.*, XXI. 97. 6 *Ins. Bengal.* p. 22

7 Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, minister of Jātavarman's son Harivarman, is said to have been "a very sage Agastya to the sea of the Bauddhas, and clever in the refutation

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The Chinese sources

Pan-yong (*c.* 125 A.D.)[8] reports that 'if after leaving the kingdom of Kao-fu (Kabul) which belongs to Yue-tche, one goes south-west, one reaches the western sea; in the east one goes to the kingdom of P'an-ki; all these lands form part of Chin-tou," which is known as the kingdom of T'ien-tchou (India). Ma-Twan-lin[9] (1319 A.D.) relates that "all the countries which extended from the south-west of the Yuei-chi and the kingdom of Kao-fu (Kabul) to the western sea, and on the east to Pan-khi, belong to Shin-tu (India)." According to these two authorities P'an-ki or P'an-khi was in the eastern border of India. A well-digested Buddhist Cyclopædia[10] of the Ming dynasty states that Pang-ko-lo is in the east of T'ien-chu and in the south of T'ien-chu is Magadha. Dr. Hirth equates Pang-ko-lo with Bangala. Pan-ki is identical with Pang-ko-la. Or it may be restored as Vaṅga.

Chao-ju-kua,[11] who wrote his book *Chu-fan-chi* sometime between A.D. 1205 and 1258, mentions that the capital of the country of Peng-ka-lo (Bengala) is called Ch'a-na-chi. "This city is 120 li in circuit. The common people are combative and devoted solely to robbery. They

of the judgment of heretic dialecticians" (*Ibid.*, 39). Bhavadeva's father Govardhana became famous for his oratorial skill, which he displayed in the assemblies of the heretics (*Ibid.*, 37). It is not unlikely that all these activities of the Brahmanical reformers of this age created an anti-Buddhist feeling in the minds of the people of Vaṅgāla. This will explain why the Vaṅgāla army did not feel scruple to persecute a Buddhist ascetic, who was the superintendent of the premier Buddhist monastery of Bengal.

The Calcutta Sahitya-Parishat Copper-Plate of Viśvarūpasena (*Ins. Ben.*) records that some lands in the Rāmasiddhipāṭaka (village of this name in the Bakharganj district), in Vaṅga, was bounded on the south by Bāṅgālabaḍā (*Bāṅgālabaḍā bhūḥ sīmā* (*ibid.*, 146, l. 43). Cf. *Pranulli bhūḥ sīmā* (l. 47). It will be wrong to assume that this Bāṅgālabaḍā is identical with Vaṅgāla-deśa.

It has as much connection with Vaṅgāla as Kauśāmbi of the Belava inscription has with Kauśāmbi, near Allahabad.

The Gaharwa inscription (*EI.*, XI, 142) of the Kalacuri Karṇa mentions that the king's great-great-grand-father Lakṣmaṇarāja (*c.* 950 A.D.) defeated the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Kāśmīra. Sarvānanda in his *Ṭikāsarvasva* (*c.* 1159 A.D.) states that the people of Vaṅgāla were fond of dried fish: (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1326 B.S. fn., 103).

8 *IHQ.*, XIV, 502: N. K. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 10.

9 *IA.*, IX, 15.

10 *JRAS.*, 1896, 496 fn. 1.

11 *Ibid.*, 1896, pp. 62, 495.

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use white cowry shells, ground into shape, as money. The country produces superior double-edged sword blades, cotton, and other cloth." Dr. Hirth remarks that[12] Ch'a-na-chi is in Cantonese Ch'a-na-kat. It may correspond to some names like Chanagar, Champanagar, and Sunarganu (Sonargaon). It is known from the Moslem sources that Sonārgāon was the capital of Bangālah in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. Hence Ch'a-na-chi may be restored as Sonārgāon.

Mahuan,[13] an interpreter attached to the suite of Cheng Ho, who was sent to various kingdoms by the Chinese emperor Yung-lo, in 1405 A.D., reached Bengala shortly after that date. He relates that "the kingdom of Pang-kola, Bengala, is reached by ship from the kingdom of Su-men-ta-la (Samalenga in Sumatra), as follows: A course is shaped for the Maoshan, and Tsin-lan Islands; these being reached, the vessel then has to steer north-west, and being favoured with a fair wind for twentyone days, arrives first at Cheh-ti-gan, where she anchors. Small boats are then used to ascend the river, up which, at a distance of 500 li or more, one arrives at a place called Sona-urh-kong (Sonargaon), where one lands; travelling from which place in a south-westerly direction for thirtyfive stages the kingdom of Bengala is reached. It is a kingdom with walled cities, and (in the capital) the king and officials of all ranks have their residences. It is an extensive country." It is known from the same authority that an embassy from Gai-ya-szu-ting, king of Bengala, came to China in the sixth year (1409 A.D.) of Yung-to's reign. Gai-ya-szu-ting is identical with Ghyasuddin A'zam Shah, who ruled Bengala from A.D. 1388 to A.D. 1410.[14] The great Persian poet Hafiz,[15] who died in 791 A.H. = 1388A.D., sent a letter to Bangālah to the king Ghyasuddin, son of Sikandar Shah. Ghyasuddin issued coins from the mint of Firozabad (Pandua), Satgaon, and Muazamabad. Muazamabad is identified with Mazumpur six or seven miles north of Sonargaon. Sikandar Shah issued coins from Sunargaon. Ghyasuddin revolted against his father and attacked him from Sonargaon.[16] Dr. N. K. Bhattasali doubtfully reads the name Chatigaon in one of the coins of Ghyasuddin.[17] Ghyasuddin was thus the ruler of East, North and West

12 *JRAS.*, 1896, p. 495. fn.
13 *Ibid.*, 1895, pp. 523, 534.
14 N. K. Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology*, p. 72.
15 Jarret, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, II, 148.
16 Ghulām Husain Salim, *Riyazus-Salātīn*, Eng. trans. by Abdus Salam, 107.
17 *Op. cit.*

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Bengal. It has already been noticed that his kingdom is called Bangālah by both Mahuan and Hafiz. Hence Mahuan does not seem to be correct when he places Chatigaon and Sonargaon out-side the limit of Bengala. This also goes against the evidence of Ibn Batūta and Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf.[18] The distance and direction of Bengala from Sonargaon, as given by Mahuan, locate the country in the neighbourhood of Satgaon.

Moslem sources

Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī[19] (*c.* 1260 A.D.) does not mention Bangālah. It states that Lakṣmaṇasena's descendants were rulers of Bang. Bang evidently means the Dacca, Faridpur, and Bakharganj districts.

Ziāu-d-dīn Barni (c. 1351 A.D.) states that Sultan Balban made Tughril viceroy of 'Lakhnautī and Bangālah.' In the fifteenth or sixteenth year of Balban's reign Tughril broke out in rebellion at Lakhnautī. Balban soon occupied Lakhnautī and in a few days arrived at Sunar-ganw. "The Rāī of that place, by name Danūj Rāī, met the Sultan, and an agreement was made with him that he should guard against the escape of Tughril by water." Tughril was defeated. Balban remained some days longer in Lakhnautī.[20] He placed the country under the charge of his younger son Bughrā Khān and made him take on oath that he should take Bangālah into his hand and make his position strong.[21] Danūj Rāī, mentioned above, is identical with the Mahārājādhirāja Danujamādhava Daśarathadeva, who issued an inscription from Vikramapura.[22] His capital was, as Barni states, Sonargaon. The country of Bangālah, which Bughrā Khān was advised to conquer, seems to have been identical with the kingdom of Danujamādhava. Bughrā Khān, who assumed the name Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, succeeded in annexing Bangālah into his kingdom by defeating Danujamādhava. Ibn Batūta[23] remarks that the sovereignty of Bangālah had belonged to Sultan Nāṣiruddīn (Bughrā Khān). After the death of the Sultan it was ruled by

18 Vide poste. 19 Raverty, 558. 20 Elliot, III, 112, 116, 120.

21 This portion of the translation is given from the text in Bib. Ind. p. 92. Elliot's translation is—"He called his son to him in private, and made him take an oath that he would recover and secure the country of Bengal" (III, 120).

In this connection Balban is said to have asked his son to take note that if the governors of Hind, Sind, Malwa, Gujarat, Sunār-gānw, Lakhnautī revolted he would be punishing them severely (*Ibid.*). The statement is evidently extravagant as Malwa and Sunār-gānw were not under the sway of Balban.

22 *Ins. Beng.*, 181.

23 *Op. cit.*, Bhattasali, 136.

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his son Shamsuddīn. It will be seen below that Bangālah, mentioned by Ibn Batūta, comprised Dacca and Chittagong districts.

Bughrā Khān's son Ruknu-d-dīn Kaikāūs issued in 690 A.H. = A.D. 1291 coins from the mint of Lakhnautī. There is also the inscription—"from the Kharaj of Banga." Shamsuddīn Firoz, younger brother and successor of Kaikāūs, issued coins from the mint of Lakhnautī (A.H. 701-720 = A.D. 1301-1320), Sunārgānw (A.H. 705, 710 = A.D. 1305, 1310), and Banga (A.H. (70) 5 = A.D. 1305). Jalāluddīn Maḥmūd, son of Firoz, issued coins in A.H. 709 = A.D. 1309 from the mint of Lakhnautī. Here also is found the inscription—"from the Kharaj of Banga."[21] Bangra referred to in these coins, is identical with Bang, mentioned in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī*. All these indicate that Banga and Bangālah were used as synonymous terms.

Ibn Batūta[25] visited Bangālah in 1346-47 A.D. He relates that "the first city of Bangālah which we entered was called Sadkāwān, a big place on the shore of the great sea. The river Ganges, to which the Hindus go on pilgrimage, and the river Jun unite in that neighbourhood before falling into the sea. The people of Bangālah maintain a number of vessels on the river with which they engage in war against the inhabitants of the country of Lakhnautī. The king of Bangālah was the Sultan Fakruddin, surnamed Fakhrah.' Ibn Batūta then narrates how Fakruddīn secured the throne of Bangālah. When Fakruddīn saw that the royal authority had passed from the family of the Sultan Nāṣiruddīn, whose descendant he was, "he revolted in Sadkāwan and in the cities of Bangālah,"[26] and declared independence. At this time Alī Shāh was the chief of the Lakhnautī country. Both entered into constant fight. Fakruddīn made Shyda, a fakir, viceroy of Sadkāwān. The fakir revolted when Fakruddīn was away. Fakruddīn "returned forthwith towards his capital. Shyada and his adherents fled towards the town of Sonarcāwān, which was a very inaccessible place." Fakruddīn's soldiers besieged it. Shyada was killed by the inhabitants of Sonarcāwān. From Kamru Ibn Batūta came towards the town

24 *JASB.*, 1922, pp. 411, 427 f.

25 Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, 458-59.

26 The passage in the quotation is a translation from the original Arabic text... *Khālafa bi Sudkāwān wa bilād Banjālāta.....Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah*—Text and Translation by C. De fremevy et le D.B.R. Sanguinetti, vol. IV, p. 214. Yule, Gibb and others wrongly translate this passage as Fakruddin "raised a revolt in Sadkāwān and Bengal." (*Cathay*, 480).

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of Habnak. "Through it flows a river which descends from the mountain of Kamru," which is called blue river (Lauhitya), by which one can go to 'Bangālah and to the country of Lakhnautī.'[27]

It follows from Ibn Batūta that Sadcāwān (Chittagong?) and Sonargaon were in Bangālah, the king of which was Fakruddīn. His statement implies that Sonargaon was not the capital of Fakruddīn. This is not correct. 'Shams-i-Siraj Afīf[28] states that the Sultan Fakruddīn was the king of Sunarganw. His capital was there. Shamsuddīn attacked Sunārgānw, and slew Fakruddīn in that city. According to the same authority Sunārgānw was in the heart of Bangālah. All the coins of Fakruddīn were issued from Sonargaon (A.H. 740-749 = A.D. 1339-1348).[29] If the identification of Sadkāwān with Chittagong proves to be true it will follow that about this time Chittagong formed a part of Bangālah, which was distinct from the country of Lakhnautī.

Shams-i-Siraj Afīf, a close associate of Firūz Tughluk (A.D. 1351-1388), is the author of *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī*.[30] The book relates that Shah "reached Bangālah in great strength.....When he arrived on the banks of the Kosi, after resting for a short time, he found the army of Shamsuddīn posted in force on the other side of the river, near its junction with the Ganges." So he went 100 *kos* up the river and crossed it. Shamsuddīn at the approach of Firūz, "abandoned the town of Pandwah and shut himself up in Ikdāla." Firūz besieged Ikdāla. Shamsuddīn was "at length compelled to take shelter in the islands (*jazāir*) of Ikdāla. The country was overrun by the troops of the Sultan, and all the raos, ranas, and zamindars of Bangālah, who joined the Sultan were favourably received. Many people of the country of Bangālah also came over to him." But Firūz could not in any way weaken the position of Shamsuddīn, who confined himself to Ikdāla. So he made a gesture of retreating towards Delhi. At this Shamsuddīn "the king of the Bangalis" came up and rushed to the attack." Firūz turned back and gave him battle. Shamsuddīn. "the king of Bangālah," fled into the fort of Ikdāla. Firūz, though succeeded in occupying the town of Ikdāla, did not annex the country "for Bangālah was a land of swamps, and the nobles of the country passed their lives in their islands

27 Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither;* Gibb; *Ibn Battūta,* pp. 267-268; Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology,* 137-138.

28 Elliot, III, 303-304.

29 Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology,* 9 ff.

30 Elliot, III, 269.

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(*jazāirat*). Henceforth at the order of the Sultan, Ikdāla was called Āzādpur and Pandua was called Firozabad. The Sultan returned to Delhi and Shamsuddīn reconquered the city of Ikdāla.

It has been noticed above that Shamsuddīn killed Fakruddīn in Sunārgānw and established himself in the territory of the latter. Shamsuddīn received an information that Firūz was again coming to Bengal with an army. He did not think it wise to remain in the islands of Ikdāla.[31] 'He thought within himself—'Sonārgāon is a capital town which compared with other capital towns in Bangālah, is in the most central place—there I should go.'[32] Coins of Shamsuddīn,[33] who was also known as Ilyas Shah, were issued from the mint of Sonārgāon, and their dates range from A.H. 753 to 758.

It follows from Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf that Ikdāla and the Kosi river were in the country of Bangālah, in the centre of which was Sonārgāon.

Bangālah has been mentioned in the *Humāyūn-Nāma* of Gul-badan Begam.[34] It states that Humāyūn marched against Shīr Khān (1538 A.D.). Shīr Khān made a gesture of submission. "His majesty was considering this, when the king of Gaura Bangāla came wounded and a fugitive. For this reason he gave no attention (to Shīr Khān), but marched towards Gaura Bangāla." At this Shīr Khān advanced and met his son, who was in Gaur. At the approach of Humāyūn Shīr Khān fled away. "Thence he (Humāyūn) went to Gaura Bangāla and took it. He was nine months in the far away country of Gaur, and named it Jannatābād."

The expression 'Gaura Bangāla' may mean—'Gaur is identical with Bangālah,' or—'Gaur is situated in Bangālah.' There are expressions like Fatḥpūr-Sikrī, Pattan-Nahrwāla etc., on the one hand, and Panduā-Bangālah, Rājmahal-Bangāla on the other.[35] 'Abbās Khān,[36] an officer under Akbar, while narrating Humāyūn's invasion of Bangālah, states that

31 Elliot, III, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298.

32 This statement in the quotation has been translated from the original text (Bib. Ind., p. 143). Elliot translates the passage as—"He deemed it expedient to remove to Sunār-gānw, which was in the very centre of Bengal and there secure himself against the enemy" (III, 305).

33 Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology*, 27.

34 Text and Eng. trans. by A. S. Beveridge, 133, 134, 138.

35 *JASB.*, 1920, p. 201, 202; Khafi Khān, I, 468. Cf. *Kalpadrukośa*, G. O. S. XLII, p. 106, v. 154, *Śrikṣetraṃ Gauḍa. Vaṅgālam āṅgireyaṃ tu madhyamam.*

36 Elliot, IV, 356.

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the emperor "proceeded himself to Gaur, the capital of Bangālah, where he lay for three months." *Aīn-i-Akbari*[37] reports that "Jannatābād is an ancient city: for a time it was the capital of Bengal and was widely known as Lakhnautī and for a while as Gaur." Hence Gaur Bangāla, mentioned in Gul-badan, should be taken to mean 'Gaur situated in Bangālah.' In this connection another important evidence may be taken into account.

Bāyazīd Biyāt[38] held an office in Akbar's kitchen. He dictated his memairs at Lahore in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91). Beveridge remarks that Bāyazīd Biyāt "gives an account of Mun'im Khān's removing his head-quarters from Tānda to Gaur (which Bāyazīd also calls Bangālah)."

Abul Fazal in his *Aīn-i-Akbari*[39] remarks that the "original name of Bangālah, was Bang." Its former rulers raised mounds called Āl throughout the province. "From this suffix, the name Bangālah took its rise and currency." The Subah of Bangālah's "length from Chittagong to Garhi is four hundred *kos*. Its breadth from the northern range of mountain to the southern frontier of the Sarkar of Madāran, is two hundred *kos*, and when the country of Orissa was added to the Sūbah, the additional length was forty three *kos* and the breadth twentythree. It is bounded on the east by the sea, on the north and south by mountains, and on the west by the Sūbah of Behar. The tract of the country on the east, called Bhāti, is reckoned a part of this province. It is ruled by Īsa Afghān." "Adjoining it, is an extensive tract of country inhabited by the Tipperah tribes. The name of the ruler is Bijay Mānik." "To the south-east of Bangālah is a considerable tract called Arakan which possesses the port of Chittagong."

It appears from Abul Fazl's above statements that the whole of modern Bengal came to be known as Bangālah during the reign of Akbar. In some coins of Akbar the mint name is given as Bangālah.[40] Major Vost identifies the mint name Bangālah with Gaur on the ground that Gaur is known to be identical with Bangālah from the account of Bāyazīd.[41] Mr. S. H. Hodivala is inclined to identify Bangālah of the coin with the city of Akbarnagar.[42] Bangālah of the coins might be referring to the country of this name. In Akbar's coins there are mint marks Kashmir, Srinagar etc.[43]

37 Jarret, II, 122.
38 *JASB.*, 1898, p. 315.
39 Jarret, II, 116, 117, 119, 120.
40 *I.M.C.*, III, 35; *Numis. Suppl.* XI, 320.
41 *Num. Suppl.* XI, 320.
42 *JASB.*, 1920, p. 209.
43 *Ibid.*, p. 211. Cf. above fn. 24.

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European sources

Barbosa visited India in 1516 A.D.[41] He states....."Beyond the Ganges, onward towards the East, is the kingdom of Bengala, wherein there are many places and cities, as well inland as on the sea-coast. Those in the interior are inhabited by Gentiles, who are subject to the king of Bengala, who is a Moor; and the stations on the coast are full of Moors and Gentiles, among whom are many merchants and traders to all parts."

Ralph Fitch,[45] an English merchant, visited Bengal in 1586 A.D. He states that "from Patanaw (Patna) I went to Tanda which is in the land of Gauren" (Gaur). "It standeth in the country of Bengala." "I went from Bengala into the country of Couche (Kuch Behar), which lieth 25 days journey northwards from Tanda." "From thence I returned to Hugeli (Hugli), which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which standeth 23 degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from Satagam (Satgaon): they call it Porto Piqueno." "Satagam is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores and very plentiful of all things. Here in Bengala they haue every day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau." "From Satagam I trauelled by the countrey of the king of Tippara or Porto Grande."....."Chatigan or Porto Grande is often times vnder the King of Recon." "From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola;" "From Bacola I went to Serrepore which standeth vpon the riuer of Ganges." "Sinnergan (Sonargaon) is a town sixe leagues from Serrepore."

According to Ralph Fitch, Gaur, Satgaon, and Chatigaon were in the country of Bengala. Sonargaon, Sripur, and Bacola were obviously situated in it.

William Hawkins visited India in 1608 A.D. and lived there till 1613 A.D. He states that the Moghul empire was divided into five great kingdoms. "The first named Pengab (Punjab), whereof Lahore

44 His itinerary "Indie Orientali" was published from Lisbon. It has been incorporated in Ramusio's "*Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*", published from Venice in 1563. Badger, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, London, 1863, Hakluyt Series, Intro. CXIV, CXV.

45 J. Horton Ryley, *Ralph Fitch*, London, 1899, pp. 110, 111, 113-115, 118, 100; William Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 24 f. Satgaon is now an insignificant village near Magra in the Hughly district.

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is the chiefe seate; the second is Bengala, the chiefe seate Sonargham" (Sonargaon).[16]

Pierre du Jarric published his book *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues aux Indes Orientales* from Bordeaux sometime between A.D. 1608 and 1614. He states that the country of Bengala comprises about 200 leagues of sea-coast. Chandikan, Sripur, and Bacola were situated in it. The island of Sundiva is very near the shore of Bengala. Sundiva is six leagues from Sripura. Dianga is a city in the port of Chatigam.[47]

Sir Thomas Roe[48] visited India in 1615 A.D. He remarks that Bengala is "a mightie Kingdom enclosing the Western syd of the Bay on the North and wyndeth southerly. It bordereth on Coromandell. The chief cityes are Ragmehhal (Rajmahal) and Dekaka (Dacca). There are many Hauens, as Port Grande (Chittagong). Port Pequina (Hugli), traded by the Portugals, Piltptan (Piplipatam), Satigam (Satgaon). It conteyneth diuers Prouinces, as that of Purup and Patan."

Samuel Purchas[49] (1625 A.D.) states that "the kingdome of Bengala is very large, and hath of coast one hundred and twentie leagues, and as much within land. Francis Fernandes measureth it from the confines of the kingdome of Ramu or Porto Grande (Chittagong) to Palmerine, ninety miles beyond Porto Pequene (Hugli), in all six hundred miles long. The river Caberis, (which some call Guenga. and think it to be the ancient Ganges), watereth it":

Fray Sebastien Manrique[50] came from Spain to India in 1628 A.D. and lived there till 1641. He visited Hugli, Dacca, Gaura, Rajmahal and Chittagong. He relates that the Danes sailed from Ceylon, and "the first point of land they identified was in Bengala, being the temple of

46 Foster, *Early Travels of India*, p. 100.

47 IV. Partie. 1610 A.D. &—Chs. XXIX, XXX, XXXII; XXXIIII; Text, Eng. and Bengali Trans. APP, *"Kedar Ray"*, by Jogendra Nath Gupta; *JASB.*, 1913, IX, 438. Pierre du Jarric was born in France in 1565 and died in 1616. He collected materials for his book from the letters written by Bengal Mission to Nicholas Pimenta and from Felixa da Guzman's work, published in 1601.

48 William Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. II, 538.

49 *Voyages*, vol. V, 508.

50 C. E. Luard, and H. Hosten, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*, Tran. Eng. vol. I, 53, vol. II, 91, 288, 310. For the identification of some of the provinces, vol. I, 49-51.

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Jagarnatte in the kingdom of Orissa." "The principalities of Bengala consist twelve provinces, that is to say. Bengala, Augelim, Ourixa, Jassor, Chandekan, Midimpur, Catrabo. Bacala, Solimanvas, Bulva, Dacca, and Rajamol." In former time "all these provinces" were under the "Emperor of Bengala."

"This monarch of Bengala lived in the city of Gouro, which will be described in due course. Under him he had twelve princes, one in each of these Provinces, and known to the people as the twelve Boiones of Bengal." Chief towns of Bengala are "Daack. Rajamol, Medinimpur, Barduan. Katrabo, Cateca. Its most frequented ports are Ugulim, founded by the Portuguese, Piple in the kingdom of Ourixa. and Balassor in the same Principality."

Authenticity of Manrique's above statement has been called in question. The power of the Twelve Bhuiyas was crushed down by the Mughals before 1613. Reverend Hosten[51] remarks that "the Bhuiyas of Manrique's Bengala must then have been governors, not of a mythical city, but of the district where the King or the Emperor had his capital at the time being.' "Bhuiya of Bengala in Manrique's time governed the district of Tanda."

Jean-Albert de Mandelslo[52] came to India in 1638 and left the country in 1660. He states that next to Orixa, winding towards the North, lyes the Kingdome of Bengala." "The Kingdome of Pegu joyns upon Bengala, upon the east-side."

Peter Heylyn[53] was born in England in 1599 and died there in 1662. He reports that "Bengala is bounded on the North with Patanaw, on the East, with the Kingdom of Pegu; on the South and West, with the Gulf of Bengala."[54]

Bernier[55] visited Bengal in 1665. He places Raje-Mehale and Oguli in the country of Bengala. He refers to the islands of Lower Bengala.

Nicolo di Conti (early fifteenth century).[56] Caesar Frederick (1563 A.D.),[57] V. le Blanc (c. 1570 A.D.),[58] Lins-

51 *JASB.*, 1913, IX, 445.

52 *'Voyages Celebres and Remarquables*, Faits de Perse Aux Indes Orientales' Eng. Tr. by John Davies (1662), quoted in Badger, *Travels of Varthema* p. 211, fn

53 Peter Heylyn has written *Cosmographie*, in Four Bookes. The Third book deals with India. It was first published in 1652.

54 *Cosmographie*, (1682), p. 209, 210.

55 *Travels in the Moghul Empire* by F. Bernier, ed. A. Constable, (1801) 175.

56 *Delle Navigationi et. Viaggi*, M. Gio. Battista Ramusio. Venice. 1563.

57 *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, X.

58 Yule, *Cathay etc.*, II. 466 fn.

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choten (1596 A.D.),[59] Nicholas Pimenta (1599 A.D.),[60] Monsieur de Monsart (end of the sixteenth century).[61] and many others refer to the country of Bengala.

According to European sources thus the country of Bengala extended from the border of Bihar and Orissa to Chittagong, and on the south upto the sea-coast.

Ludovico di Varthema,[62] a merchant from Bologna, visited India in 1503 A.D., and published his itinerary in Italian language from Rome in 1510 A.D. He states that from Tarnassari "we took the route towards the city of Banghella (Bengala), which is distant from Tarnassari seven hundred miles." "This city was one of the best that I had hitherto seen, and has a very great realm. The sultan of this place is a Moor,..."; "and he is constantly at war with the king of Narsingha." It was a great emporium for trade. "Fifty ships are laden every year in this place with cotton and silks stuffs" etc. Varthema closes his account with the remark "We left this city (Banghella), which I believe is the best in the world, that is, for living in."

Barbôsa (1516) relates that "this sea forms a gulf which bends towards the north, at the head of which is situated a great city inhabited by Moors, which is called Bengala, with a good port." "In the same city there are many foreigners from all parts, including Arabia, Persia and Abyssinia."[63]

The book *Sommario de' Regni*, etc., incorporated in Ramusio's *Delle Navigationi et. Viaggi* (1563),[64] lays down—"of the seaports of the kingdom (Bengala), the principal is in the city of Bengala, from which the kingdom takes its name. One goes in two days from the mouth of the Ganges to the city, which (mouth of the Ganges) now goes by the name of Sino Gangetico or Gulf of Bengal, and in the best roadsteads the water is three braccia deep. The city contains about 40,000 hearths, and the king has a residence

59 A. C. Burnell and Tiele, *The Voyages of John Huyghen Van Linschoten*, (ed. 1885).

60 *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, X; Eng. & Bengali Tran. *Pratāpāditya*, ed. N. N. Ray, App.

61 *Exact and Curious Survey of all the East Indies*, etc., (1615), p. 25.

62 *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, G. P. Badger, (1863); Sir Richard Carnac Temple, pp. 19, 79.

63 This quotation continues after that given above, cf. *ante* fn. 44.

64 Vol. I, 333, trans. by Badger, *op. cit.*, Intro. cxv.

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there at all times, which is the only one covered with tiles, and is built with well-made bricks."

The French traveller V. le Blanc[65] visited Bengal about 1570 A.D. He relates that he came "to the kingdom of Bengala, the principal city of which is also called Bengale by the Portuguese and other nations; but the people of that country call it Batacouta." "Ships ascend the Ganges to it, a distance of twenty miles by water" etc.

Thomas Herbert (first half of the seventeenth century) states that Bengala was anciently called Baracoura.[66]

Patavino (1597) refers to Gaur Bengala Catigan and Satigan.[67]

Monsieur de Monsart, a French traveller, visited India at the end of the sixteenth century. He reports that from the city of St. Thomas, founded by the Portuguese "I returned to Conchin, and from Conchin to the kingdome of Bengala, wherein the Portugals also hold the capitall citty, and best fortresse, of which the whole kingdome takes their name, which notwithstanding, is very small and of little strength "[67a]

Here the implication is that the capital city of the Portuguese was called Bengala.

Samuel Purchas (1625) lays down that "Gouro, the seat Royall, and Bengala, are faire cities." "Chatigan is also reckoned amongst these cities."[68]

Jean-Albert de Mandelslo who visited in 1638 reports that Gouro, Ougely, Chatigan, Bengala, Tanda, Dacca, Patana, Banares, Elabas (Allahabad), and Ragmehela are cities in the kingdom of Bengala.[69]

Methold states that Bengala and Rajmahal are the two principal and beautiful cities in the kingdom of Bengal.[70]

Peter Heylyn (1599-1662) lays down that of the cities of the kingdom of Bengala the principal one is "Bengala, which gave name to the whole kingdom, situate on a branch of the River Ganges, and reckoned for one

65 Quoted by Yule, *op. cit.*, II, 466, fn. Au Royaume de Bengale, dont la principale ville est aussi appellee Bengale par les Portugais, et par les autres nations; mais ceux du pais l'appellent Batacouta.

66 *Ibid.*

67 *Geog. Univ. tum Vet. tum Novae absolutissimum opus*,—quoted by Badger, *op. cit.*, Intro. lxxx, lxxxi.

67a *Exact and Curious Survey of all the East Indies*, London, 1615, p. 25.

68 *Voyages*, V, 508.

69 Cf. fn. 52.

70 Mandelslo, *Voyages*, 290; Badger, *op. cit.*, 211, fn.

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of the most beautiful Towns of all the Indies. Exceedingly enriched by trade, but more by Pilgrimages, by reason of the holiness and divine operations ascribed by the Indians to the waters of it: there being few years in which not visited by three or four hundred thousand Pilgrims." Peter Heylyn obviously connects the city of Bengala with Gaṅgāsāgar. He places the cities of Patna, Benares, Sripura (in the Dacca district), Chandican, Satgaon in the kingdom of Patna, and mentions that the cities of Gauro, (the seat Royal of the ancient kings), Catigan, Taxda, Porto Grande and Porto Pequeno were situated in the kingdom of Bengal. It is known from other sources that Catigan and Porto Grande are identical.[71]

Fryer (1672-1681)[72] states that there was "superintendent over all the factories on the coast of Coromandels as far as the Bay of Bengala, and up Huygly River (which is one of the falls of Ganges) viz., Fort St. George alias Maderas, Pettipolee, Mechlapatan, Gundore, Medapollon. Balisore, Bengala, Huygly, Castle Buzzar, Pattanaw."[73]

Among the European travellers, referring to the city of Bengala, Ludovico di Varthema, Barbosa, V. le Blanc, and Monsieur de Monsart are definitely known to have visited India or Bengal. Badger doubts whether Mandelslo ever visited the city of Bengala.

Sommario de' Regni, Monsart, and Peter Heylyn state that the kingdom of Bengala was known as such after the name of the city of Bengala. If this proves to be true it will establish that the city of Bengala was in existence before the eleventh century A.D. But the Sanskrit and Moslem sources, hitherto known, do not mention the name of this city. V. le Blanc seems to have disclosed the real state of things. He makes it clear that the city, which was known to the people of Bengal as Batacouta, was called by the Portuguese and other foreigners as Bengala. This points out that there was no city of the name of Bengala in Bengal before the advent of the Europeans. Batacouta which is identical with Batacoura, mentioned by Sir Thomas Herbert, cannot be identified. It reminds us of the city of Paṭṭikerā, mentioned in the Maināmati copper-plate,[74] dated Śaka 1141 = A.D. 1219.

71 *Cosmographie*, 209, 210; cf. fn. 53.

72 *A New Account of East India and Persia* (1698), p. 38; *JASB.*, 1920, p. 204.

73 Ralph Fitch, Sir Thomas Roe, Sebastian Manrique, etc. do not mention the name of the city of Bengala.

74 *IHQ.*, IX, 289. But Paṭṭikerā was far off from the Ganges, on the bank of

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Barbosa places the city of Bengala on the mouth of the Ganges. According to Sommario de' Regni it was two days' journey from the mouth of the Ganges. V. le Blanc places it on the bank of the Ganges twenty miles off from the sea. It is evident from Peter Heylyn's report that the Ganges, on the bank of which the city of Bengala was situated, was none other than the Bhāgīrathi, the mouth of which is known as Gaṅgāsāgar, a place of pilgrimage to the Hindus from early times.

Ludovico di Varthema and Barbosa closely associate this city with the Moors, and describe it as a great emporium for trade. The only city, in Bengal, which was associated with the Moors about this time, was Satgaon. This is known from Ralph Fitch, who does not mention about the city of Bengala but gives a detailed description of various cities in the country of Bengala. He also speaks of the brisk mercantile activities that were carried in Satgaon. A comparison of Varthema's account of Bengala with the description of Satgaon (on the Ganges) by Ralph Fitch will lead one to the conclusion that the two cities were identical. This will, however, go against the reports of Patavino and Peter Heylyn, who distinguish Satgaon from the city of Bengala. But as none of them visited India their statements in this connection may not be taken seriously. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that Peter Heylyn distinguishes Catigan from Porto Grande though they were identical. Varthema never saw a beautiful city like Bengala. Samuel Purchas thinks that Gaura and Bengala were the fairest cities in Bengal, and Peter Heylyn is of the opinion that it was one of the most beautiful towns of all the Indies. It is known from other sources that Satgaon was one of the most beautiful cities in Bengal about this time.

Ralph Fitch and Sir Thomas Roe associate the Portuguese, with Port Pequina (Hugly). So the capital city of the Portuguese, mentioned by Monsart, which seems to be referring to the city of Bengala, may be taken as identical with Port Pequina. But Mandelslo and Peter Heylyn distinguish Bengala from Hugly. Thus according to Varthema the city of Bengala seems to have been Satgaon, according to Monsart it was, probably Hugly, and according to V. le Blanc it was Batacouta.[75]

which Bengala was situated. There was a flourishing village named Betor, on the Ganges, near Satgaon. (*JASB.*, 1892, p. 109).

75 Bayazid Biyat identifies the city of Gaur with Bangālah. Cf. fn. 38.

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Maps of the 14th—17th centuries

Some Maps of the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also refer to the city of Bengala.

Yule remarks that "Bengala appears as a city in the curious and half obliterated *Portulano Mediceo* of the Laurentian Library (1351 A.D.)"[76]

Carta Catalana (1375 A.D.)[77] locates it near the sea approximately on the mouth of the Bhagirathi. The Bhagirathi has not been shown in the Map. At a considerable distance from this place to the east is the river Finis Indiae (Brahmaputra). A little to the north of Bengala is the place Bassia, and to its north-east to the west of the Finis Indiae is Michem. Nearest place mentioned to its south-west is Butifites. Catigaon, Satgaon or other well known cities of Bengal have not been shown.

Yule remarks that Fra Mauro's Map (fifteenth century) shows Bengala, Sonargauam, Satgauam, and Scierno.[78]

In Gastaldi's Map (1561)[79] the Ganges flows to the east. Three branches from it flow southward to the sea. On the right bank of the western branch, on its mouth, is Satigan. Between the middle and the eastern branches, in the interior, is Bengala. To the east of the eastern branch, to the south-east of Bengala, is Cattigan. Regno de Bengala is to the north of the main source of Ganga and to the east of the eastern branch. Gaur, Satigan, Bengala, and Cattgan are placed outside the limit of that country.

India Orientalis (1597)[80] mentions Gouro, Satigan, Catigan, and Bengala. Bengala is near the mouth of a river (Brahmaputra?).

Map of Asia by Hondius (1612)[81] shows, to the east of the Ganges, five rivers, which, taking their rise from a lake in the region of the Himalaya, flow southward to the sea. Second branch from the west is Cosmin flu. In the delta of the Cosmin flu is Bengala bounded by its two

76 *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, 465-466, fn.

77 Attached to *Cathay* etc., the title given—'*Asia*', from sheets II, III, & IV, of the Catalan Map of 1375; reduced and condensed from the facsimiles in *Notices et Extraits*, &c. Tom XIV.

78 *Cathay* etc. II, 466 fn.

79 Attached to *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* by Badger.

80 Attached to Patavino's *Geog. etc. op. cit.*

81 Attached to *Purchas His Pilgrimes;* Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, 541.

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branches. To the north-west of Bengala, to the west of Cosmin flu, is Catigam.

Map of the East Indies by Hondius (1612)[82] shows the position of Bengala just as the previous one. Bicanpur (Vikramapura) is shown on the sea coast to the west of Cosmin flu. Catigam has not been mentioned.

William Baffin's *Indolstani*[83] shows three rivers, without any connection between themselves, flowing to the sea. The western river is Ganges flu, on the left bank of which, on the mouth, is Satgaon. To the east of the river, in the middle, at a distance, on the sea coast, is Bicanpor. To the east of Bicanpor is Catigam. To the east of Catigam in the delta of the Cosmin flu bounded by its two branches is Bengala. The country of Bengala extends from Berar little to the east of the Cosmin flu.

N. Sauson's *Empire du Gr. Mogol* (1652)[84] shows Chatigam to the west and Bengala to the east of a river. Bengala is to the south-east of Chatigam. To the west of Chatigam further off is another river to the right bank of which is Dacca.

A Map of the *East Indies*[85] by D. Christoph Bathurst M.D. shows five rivers to the east of the Ganges taking their rise from a lake and flowing to the sea. Bengala is placed on the sea coast between the first two rivers from the west. No other sea port town has been shown.

Philippi Chetwind's Map *Asiae Descriptio Nova Impensis* (1666)[86] shows the position of the rivers as above. To the east of the second branch (from the west), named here as Cosmin flu, are Bengala and Chatiga. Bengala is to the south of Chatiga. Bacola is to the east of Satgam on the right bank of the Ganges.

Imper Il-Magni Mogolis[87] places Chatigan to the west and Bengala to the east of the Caor flu. To the north-east of Chatigan in the interior is Bengala. To the west of Chatigan near the coast is Dacca. At the mouth of the river Caor flu is the island of Sundiva.

82 Dacca Museum Collection.

83 Attached to Foster, *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*.

84 Attached to the article *The Lost City*, by H. J. Rainey, in *Mookerjee's Magazine*, New Series, I, 343.

85 Olearius, *The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors*, Trans. by J. Davies, (1662).

86 Attached to Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie*.

87 Attached to *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, by F. Bernier, ed. Archibald Constable, 1891, p. 454.

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Mons Tauernier Mandesło's *L'India* (1683)[88] shows the river Jiume Cosmin o' di Bengala to the east of the river Laquia. To the east of the Jiume Cosmin o' di Bengala is the city of Bengala. To the right bank of this river on its mouth, and to the south of Bengala, is Catigaon.

Pierre Vander. AA-*Carte du Golfe du Bengale* etc. (1727)[89] locates Bengala to the north-east of Catigaon. A river flows between these two cities to the sea.[90]

There is thus no agreement between the early maps in regard to the situation of Bengala. *Carta Catalana* places it approximately in West Bengal. Gastaldi locates it to the north-west of Chittagong. Hondius and some others place it in the delta of Cosmin flu to the south-east of Chittagong. But according to Gastaldi, *Imper Il-Magni Mogolis* and some others it is an inland-city. Philippi Chetwind places both Chatiga and Bengala to the east of Cosmin flu. The same authority places Bengala to the south of Chatigan. *Imper Il-Magni Mogolis* and *Carte du Golfe du Bengale* locate it to the north-east of Catigan. All these maps except possibly *Carta Catalana* locate Bengala far to the east of the Bhagirathi. Some of them place it on the bank of the Cosmin flu, which is distinct from the Ganges. But this goes against the reports of V. le Blank, Barbosa and others, who place the city on the bank of the Bhagirathi.

Consideration of all these reports about the location of the city of Bengala has led some scholars to think that there was never a town properly called as such. This name was given by the European travellers to variety of places, particularly the chief ports. The chief supporters of this view are Ovington[91] (1696), H. Yule,[92] Blochman,[93] Rev. Hosten,[94] and J.

88 Imperial Library, (Calcutta), collection.

89 Attached to Jean-Albert de Mandelslo's—*Voyages Celebres and remarquables*, Faitts de Perse Aux Indes Orientales. There are two other maps referring to Bengala in this book viz., Pierre Vander. AA-*Les Indes Orientales* (1727); Pierre Vander. AA-*Royaume du Grand Mogol*, (1727).

90 Badger (*op. cit.*,) gives a list of about fourteen maps in the collection of British Museum. They refer to Bengala. *Van-den Broucke's Map* (1660 A.D.) does mention any city of the name of Bengala.

91 *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, 75-77.

92 *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, 466. "Yule does not put any importance on the maps showing the city of Bengala. He remarks "one of the latest atlases containing the city of Bengala is that of Cornelli (Venice 1691), and he adds the judicious comment, *'creduta favolosa'*."

93 *JASB.*, 1873, p. 233.

94 *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 437.

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Campos.[95] Ovington thinks that the city was to the south of Chittagong. Yule says that it was either Sonargaon or Chittagong. Campos identifies it with Chittagong. It has already been noticed that Satgaon seems to have been called as Bengala by some early travellers.[96]

Results of all the discussions made above may be summarised in the following way. In the eleventh century Dacca district was in the country of Vaṅgāla. In the thirteenth century the Chinese sources seem to be suggesting that Sonargaon, in the Dacca district, was situated in it. In the fourteenth century Sonargaon is definitely known to have been the capital of Vaṅgāla, which extended from Dacca to Chittagong. In the first half of the sixteenth century, Lakhnautī or Gaur, which had so long been outside the limit of Vaṅgāla, was included in it. By the end of this century Vaṅgāla comprised the whole country now known as Bengal. There was no city properly called Bengala.

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95 J. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, 76 fn. 77. Cf. "Bengala" by S. H. Hodivālā, *JASB.*, 1920, p. 199.

96 Badger, Rennell, B. N. Basu Thakur (*Bāṅgālā nagari*, in Bengali, *Dacca Review and Sammilan*, Bāṅglā Sam. 1321, p. 345) and Dr. R. C. Majumdar think that there was in reality a city named Bengala. According to Badger it occupied a position between Hattia and Sundeep islands, situated at the present mouth of the Brahmaputra. Rennell suggests that it had been carried away by the river. Mr. Basu Thakur does not make any attempt to identify the city. Dr. Majumdar thinks that it was very likely Dianga near Chittagong (*Lama Tāranātha's Account of Bengal*, *IHQ.*, XVI, 13). Dr. Majumdar's view that Ibn Batūta refers to the city of Bengala is based on the incorrect French and English translation of the Arabic text. Cf. *ante* fn. 26.

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A pre-historic Tree Cult

In the present investigation an attempt is made to trace the history of the Fig tree cult which is known to be of old origin and is widely popular in India. Generally four varieties of the Fig tree are known viz., Ficus Carica, Ficus Glomerata (*udumbara*), Ficus Indica (*vaṭa*, banyan) and Ficus religiosa (*aśvattha*). Of the four varieties the *vaṭa* and the *aśvattha* are better known. The *vaṭa* is known in Sanskrit as *nyāgrodha, bhāṇḍīra* and is regarded as the abode of Yama (Yamapriya), the Yakṣas etc. It is called the lord of trees (*vṛkṣanātha*). The *aśvattha* is the abode of Acyuta; it is the tree of milk (kśīra-druma), of knowledge (bodhi-druma). It is commonly called *peepula, pipal* or *pipar*. The cult of the Fig tree generally means the cult of the aśvattha or pipal, though the vaṭa and the pipal are sometimes planted together and worship is offered to both. This cult widely prevails in India at the present time among the Hindus and Hinduised tribes as also the Buddhists and Jains. Evidence in the sacred literature, Hindu and Buddhist, as well as archaeological evidence show that the cult was equally popular in the past among the Hindus and Buddhists. There is also evidence, mainly archaeological, showing that the cult of the Fig tree was known in pre-historic Indian religion. It is expected, therefore, that an enquiry into this cult will throw some light on the cultural relations between Indian peoples in different historical ages.

The *pipal* appears among the pre-historic finds in the Indus Valley and Baluchistan in three forms: (1) representation of the pipal leaf (2) representation of the branch of the pipal tree and (3) representation of the whole tree. Among the ceramic objects unearthed in the course of explorations in Sind by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar are some painted pottery with designs of the pipal leaf (*Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 48: Chanhu-Daro finds, p. 37; Lohunjo-Daro finds of painted potsherd: Lh. 112, Lh. 116. Lh. 178). Among Chanhu-Daro finds there also appears a seal depicting a whole pipal tree (Pl. XVII, 44) and another seatite seal with the same device (Pl. XVII, 34). The pipal tree appears again on the neck of a vase (Gs 100) among the finds at the mound of Ghazi Shah at Johi and pipal branches appear on two sherds (Gs 13, Gs 113-Pp, 95-103), and on another painted potsherd from the

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mound at Pandi Wahi (Pw 92, P. 109). In the *Annual Report* of the A.S.I., 1924-25 Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni notices among the finds at Harappa a square seal of white plaster which "shows probably a pipal tree *enclosed by a railing*" (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5 p. 74). In the *Memoir* no. 37 of the A.S.I. (An Archaeological tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan) Sir Aurel Stein notices fig leaf representations on painted pottery (Pl. Di; Pl. XV, D.N. C 8; D.W. i. i and Pl. XVI). In *Memoir* no. 43 (An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia) he reports several finds of fig leaf representations on painted pottery (Pl. XXI, Zik 3; Pl. XXIII, Ku IV. 5; Pl. XXV, Siah 4, branches and leaves), Pl. XXIX, Mehi. ii 8. 3.; Pl. XXX, Mehi. ii 4, 5 Pl. XXXIII, Saka 3 etc. Among plant designs on painted pottery the pipal motif, leaves, branches and tree, is the most frequent. The fern, date palm and floral motifs also appear, but less frequently. The seals with representations of the whole pipal tree are important, because they indicate that the pipal had probably other uses than mere decoration of painted pottery.

Sir John Marshall writes: "On certain sealings from Harappa (Pl. XII-16, 20, 21, 25 and 26) various sacred trees are represented which it is difficult to identify. A point of some interest is that two at least of the trees on these sealings spring from what appears to be an enclosing wall or railing such as commonly encircles the roots of sacred trees on later reliefs of the historic period, and were regarded as almost indispensable symbols of their sanctity.[1] Marshall explains these sealings as examples of the worship of the trees in their natural forms. Of the other kind of tree-worship he says, "That the animistic conceptions which have distinguished the worship of trees throughout the historic period were common to the Chalcolithic age is clear from several seals and sealings. One of the most important of these is reproduced in Pl. XII, Fig. 18". Marshall says that the tree-goddess appears between two branches by which the tree is represented.[2] On other seals e.g., Pl. XII, 13, 14, 19 and also 15 and 22, the tree appears conventionalised into the form of an arch surrounded by leaves in which the deity is found as if standing in a shrine.[3] Marshall's inference from the leaves is that the tree is pipal.[4] He says, "Thus we have at both Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa two forms of tree worship represented, one in

1 Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation*, I, p. 65.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 63. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 63, note 2. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

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which the tree itself is worshipped in its natural form, the other in which the tree spirit is personified and endowed with human shape and human attributes."[5]

It is important to note that in both of these two forms of worship the tree selected appears to be the pipal. Thus among pre-historic finds in Sind, Baluchistan, Waziristan, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro the pipal appears both as a decorative motif and as an object of worship. The sacred character of the tree is clearly indicated in the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa representations, but representations of the whole tree in sealings unearthed at other places may also be regarded as cult-objects, because these representations on sealings of the whole tree could not possibly be a decorative device nor could they serve any material purpose and because other trees, which appear as artistic motifs on painted pottery do not, so far as is known, appear in sealings. The strongest reason for identifying them as sacred objects is of course the prevalence of a developed cult, as it seems, of the pipal at Mohen-Daro and Harappa. What ideas were associated with this chalcolithic cult of the Fig tree cannot be known and it is no use guessing them at this stage on the evidence of analogy in historical times.

On coming down to the Vedic literature it is found that "vessels made of the aśvattha wood are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*.[6] The word pippala occurs in the *Ṛgveda*[7] referring to the fruit which birds find tasteful. The 'hard wood of the aśvattha formed the upper of the two pieces of wood used for kindling fire."[8] The medicinal properties of the aśvattha are referred to once where it is said that herbs sit on it.[9] The nyāgrodha is not mentioned by name in the *Ṛgveda* but according to Macdonell and Keith it seems to have been known as has been shown by Pischel that sacrificial bowls were made of its wood.[10] In the *Atharva Veda* the aśvattha and the nyāgrodha sometimes appear together while the aśvattha frequently appears alone. The udumbara also appears often. From the aśvattha wood are prepared amulets which secure the defeat and destruction of the wearer's enemies.[11] With the branch of the tree one succeeds in banishing and expelling one's enemies.[12] The tree is invoked to rend a hostile army.[13] The aśvattha

5 *Ibid.*, p. 65. 6 Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. I, pp. 43, 44.
7 *Ṛgveda*, I. 164. 20. 8 *Vedic Index*, vol. I, pp. 43, 44.
9 *Ṛgveda*, X, 97. 5. 10 *Vedic Index*, vol. I, p. 462.
11 *Atharva Veda*, III. 6. 1 f. 12 *Ibid.*, II, 6, 8.
13 *Ibid.*, VIII, 8. 3.

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growing on a śami appears in a charm to ensure the birth of a male child.[14] It has healing properties.[15] The fruit of the aśvattha appears in a charm to heal punctured wounds. [16] From the aśvattha and nyāgrodha springs the plant śilāci which mends a broken bone.[17] The gods sit under the aśvattha in the third heaven.[18] It and the nyāgrodha are inhabited by the Gandharvas and Apsarases who are prayed to be propitious to a wedding party.[19] The amulet of the udumbara tree helps one who longs for wealth. It gives plenty in cattle, corn and children.[20] It is foe-killing.[21] It is the lord of amulets,[22] it gives vigour.[23] Regarding the origin of the nyāgrodha the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has the following: "When the gods after the successful performance of their sacrifice went to heaven, they tilted over the Soma cups when the nyāgrodha tree grew up.....They grew first at Kurukṣetra, from them all others originated."[24] The nyāgrodha is a Kṣatra.[25] The aśvattha has sovereignity over the trees.[26] Coming to the sūtras it is found that the nyāgrodha shoot pounded with rice and barley grains appears in the production of intelligence of the child.[27] The aśvattha is to be avoided on the east side of the house, the nyāgrodha on the west side and the udumbara on the north side. The aśvattha brings danger from fire, the nyāgrodha brings oppression through hostile arms, the udumbara brings diseases of the eye. The aśvattha is sacred to the sun, the nyāgrodha is the tree that belongs to Varuṇa and the udumbara to Prajāpati.[28]

Thus the sanctity of the aśvattha was recognised in the *Ṛgveda* and it also bears evidence to the existence of a tradition regarding its healing properties. In the *Atharva-Veda* the aśvattha, in addition to its religious sanctity, acquires magical potency along with the udumbara. The destruction of enemies, birth of a male child and healing of wounds are the purposes which the pipal helps to achieve. The udumbara is a giver of plenty. The pipal and the vaṭa become also abodes of spirits, not regarded as evil. In the sūtras different varieties of the fig tree become associated with

14 *Ibid.*, VI, 11. 1.
15 *Ibid.*, VIII, 7. 20.
16 *Ibid.*, VI, 110. 1.
17 *Ibid.*, V, 5. 2-5.
18 *Ibid.*, V, 4. 3.
19 *Ibid.*, IV, 37. 4.
20 *Ibid.*, XIX, 31. 1. 4. 5. etc.
21 *Ibid.*, XIX, 31. 8.
22 *Ibid.*, XIX, 31. 11.
23 *Ibid.*, XIX, 31. 12.
24 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 3. 30.
25 *Ibid.*, VIII, 2. 16.
26 *Ibid.*, VII, 3. 32.
27 *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtras*, II, 7-18.
28 *Ibid.*, IV, 7.

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different deities, but at the same time they acquire an evil aspect so that it becomes necessary to avoid them on some occasions.

The attributes of the fig tree are stressed in the Epics and Purāṇas. Viṣṇu is identified with the aśvattha, nyāgrodha and udumbara.[29] The aśvattha represents that tree of life which is rooted in heaven above.[30] The vaṭa and udumbara retain their evil aspect and are taboo.[31] Mahādeva is identified with nyāgrodha, (*nyāgrodharūpa*). He is identified also with the aśvattha.[32] Kārtikeya is said to live continuously in the vaṭa tree.[33] The aśvattha is to be worshipped daily by men.[34] The *Mahābhārata* as well as the Rāmāyaṇa testify to the great popularity of the cult of Caitya-vṛkṣas which were the aśvattha.[35] According to the *Kālikā Purāṇa* if utensils used in worship are made of udumbara wood Viṣṇu is particularly pleased. The aśvattha and udumbara promote conception and it is related that the mother of Viśvāmitra and the mother of Jāmadagni were asked by Bhṛgu to embrace these trees after their menstrual period for obtaining male child.[36] According to the *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* the leaf of the vaṭa is the bed of Hari.[37] The vaṭa is also inhabited by Brahma-rākṣasa.[38] According to a Priests' Manual the aśvattha has to be worshipped every day. It expels enemies, dispels evil omens and dreams, it is identified with Janārdana. The tree destroys sin and increases prosperity.[39] A childless man who plants an aśvattha tree obtains a son.[40] The aśvattha gives wealth and the udumbara cures diseases.[41] There are elaborate ceremonies for planting an aśvattha tree with orthodox formula including *homa*. After planting the tree all the ten saṃskāras including marriage have to be performed. A plantain tree adorned with cloths, gold ornaments, vermilion and lac dye is planted by the side of the aśvattha and married to it with Vedic mantras. In some case four plantain trees are planted round the tree and worshipped as his wives. Sometimes the aśvattha is married to a *tulasi* plant.[42]

Thus in the Epics and Purāṇas and in orthodox worship the special sanctity of the fig tree continues to be recognised. The aśvattha becomes

29 *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana Pv. ch. 126. (Baṅgavāsī Ed.).
30 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma Pv. ch. 34. 31 *Ibid.* 32 *Ibid.*
34 *Ibid.*, Anuś. Pv. ch. 126. 33 *Ibid.*, Śalya Pv. ch. 43.
35 *Ibid.*, Anuśāsana Pv. ch. 162; *Rāmāyaṇa*. Sundarakāṇḍa chs. 12. 22 etc.
36 *Kālikā Purāṇa* ch. 82. (Baṅgavasī Ed.).
37. *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* ch. 4 (Baṅgavāsī Ed.). 38 *Ibid.*
39 *Kriyākāṇḍavāridhi*, vol. I, p. 144. (Basumatī Ed.).
40 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 664. 41 *Ibid.* 42 *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 668 f.

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particularly sacred to Viṣṇu while the nyāgrodha becomes particularly sacred to Mahādeva. The udumbara and aśvattha preserve their potency in connection with promotion of conception, but it is the aśvattha that is more concerned with the granting of offspring, wealth, etc. The healing properties of the fig tree are not forgotten. The new attribute is that the vaṭa becomes the haunt of ghost or preta.

The pipal appears in folk worship. In Bengal women and young girls observe vratas in honour of it.....One of such vratas known as *aśvattha-pātā vrata* is observed for the whole month of Vaiśākh.. The devotee, generally a young, unmarried girl rises early, proceeds to a river or a tank for bath, places a new leaf of the pipal on her head and holds it there with one hand while she dips in the water. When she raises her head out of the water she takes off her hand so that the leaf on the head may be carried away by the current or wind. She has to dip her head five times in the water placing a fresh leaf each time on her head and recite mantras which are only doggrel verses. The desires the fulfilment of which are sought by means of the performance of the vow or vrata are: longevity of the husband, a golden complexion, a male child. wealth, happines etc. One of the most cherished desire of the devotee is that she may be the only girl among eight children, seven others being boys. After returning home she must pour water at the root of the aśvattha and bow to it.[43] Another collection of these *vrāta-kathās* (manuals of vratas) gives the customary story regarding the origin of this worship. A merchant proud of his wealth insults a hungry Brahmin who comes to his house and turns him out. The Brahmin cursed him and was about to depart in anger when the wife of the Brahmin fell at his feet entreating him to return. Mollified by her entreaties he returned and took food at the merchant's house. He told her that the curse uttered by him would surely ruin the merchant but if when the family would be in distress she performed a vrata according to instructions given by him the lost wealth would be regained.[44]

In Rajputana the pipal and the *bargad* are worshipped by women in Vaiśākh to protect them from widowhood. Vows are made to the pipal for male offspring. Pious women veil their faces when they pass by it. A vessel of water for the comfort of the departing soul is hung from its

43 *Vrata Kathā*, ed. K. P. Vidyaratna, Calcutta, 1341 B.S., pp. 196 f.
44 *Meyeder Vrata Kathā*, ed. Shasibhusan Kaviratna, pp. 1 f.

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branches. Beneath the pipal are placed rough stones which serve as the shrine of village gods.[45] Among the Nagars of Kathiawad and other parts of Gujerat, the bride and the bridegroom are taken on the *Vaṭa-Sāvitrī* day to a banyan tree which they worship and hang on one of its branches the wedding garland made of betelnuts and cocoa kernel. When the banyan worship is over the bride is presented with a robe.[46] In the same part of the country people walk round the pipal on Saturdays when in the hope of getting rich they tear off scraps of the pipal bark. A grown up girl who cannot be married for natural defect is married to it. Leaves of the tree are used in spirit-scaring rites.[47]

The banyan is worshipped on the full-moon day by married women with the object of lengthening the lives of their husbands and children.[48] The udumbara is worshipped during the Navarātri by people wishing to make money.[49] In the eastern part of the U.P. the pipal is regarded as the abode of Vāsudeva and women bow and cover their faces as they pass by it.[50] In the north Oudh and U.P. the Bhot women worship the banyan tree by walking round it and tying a thread round its trunk. They do it to lengthen the life of their husbands.[51] In Bihar the pipal and the *Bar* are regarded as the favourite dwelling places of the gods, and votive offerings of flags etc. are made to them which are either hung or fastened to a bamboo pole which is stuck in the ground close to them.[52] In Mirzapore the Pataris when fever prevails tie a cotton string which has never touched water round the trunk of a pipal tree and hang rags from the branches. Crooke explains this custom as an illustration of transference of disease.[53] The writer has seen rag offerings being made to a banyan tree at Majgram in Pabna district in North Bengal by both Hindus and Moslems. This tree bears the curious name of *Tenā corā Vaṭagācha*, that is the vaṭa which steals rags. Another instance is known of the curious offerings of bundles of straw being made to a pair of pipal and banyan at Kumarbhog in Dacca

45 W. Crooke, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 1894, p. 249.
46 *Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, 1901, vol. IX, part I, p. 47.
47 *Ibid.*, p. 386. 48 *Ibid.*, p. 388. 49 *Ibid.*
50 W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of N. W. Provinces and Oudh*, II, p. 10.
51 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
52 S. Mitra, 'On Plantlore from Bihar,' *JASB.*, vol. XXX, no. I, 1934.
53 Crooke, *Introduction* etc., pp. 105 f.

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district. In both instances the object appears to be transference of disease.[54] The practice of worshipping the Akṣaya-vaṭa within the sacred enclosure of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri by barren women for offspring is well-known. The presiding deity of this tree is Ganeśa and he is known as Vaṭa-Ganeśa.[55] Thus in folk worship the pipal is worshipped for granting offspring, mainly a male child, for wealth, long life etc. It is also used as a medium for transference of evil and disease. The banyan and the udumbara are also worshipped for some of these purposes. The basis of the practice of hanging rags on the branches of the pipal and banyan is probably the memory of their old healing virtues.

In the Buddhist religion the pipal is venerated as the Bodhi-tree or the tree of wisdom under which Gotama attained his Buddha-hood and as such features prominently in Budddhist works of art. "While in all the oldest accounts of Gotama's attainment of Buddha-hood there is no mention of the tree under which he was sitting at the time, yet already in a suttanta it is incidentally mentioned that this event took place under a pipal tree, and this is often referred to in later books. In the old sculptures the Buddha himself is never represented directly, but always under a symbol." Rhys-Davids explains that such representation of the pipal in the old sculptures is not to be taken as an evidence of tree worship, veneration is paid to it because it is a symbol of the Master or because of its association with him at a turning point in his career. But he proceeds, "Another hypothesis is possible,—that the disciples in all good faith, associated their Master with this particular tree because it already, before him, had been specially sacred above all other trees.....The tree was certainly held in high esteem even as early as the Vedic poems. Vessels for the mystic Soma cult were made of its wood; and so were the caskets containing the medicinal herbs used in mystic craft of the physician of the day. The upper portion of the fire-drill—and the production of fire was held to be a mystery—was of the wood of the pipal tree. And in one passage the tree in heaven under which the souls of the blessed recline is likened to pippala. Whether this would be sufficient reason for the rise of the tradition may be doubtful. But such association would add to its hold on popular imagination, if it had once

54 N. M. Chaudhuri, 'A Curious Cult in North Bengal,' *Indian Culture*, vol. II, No. 3.

55 L. S. S. O'Malley, *Puri District Gazetteer*, 1906, p. 115.

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otherwise arisen."[56] In one Bharut sculpture the Bodhi-tree is represented as springing from an altar enclosed by a railing and elephants paying homage. In another sculpture the tree is represented as springing from an altar with garlands hanging from its branches and devotees paying homage, one in the act of hanging a garland.[57] But as has been pointed out by Rhys-Davids the pipal as the Bodhi-tree or the tree of wisdom is not the tree of knowledge of folklore. "The wisdom was the wisdom of the Master, not of the tree or the tree-god, and could not be obtained by eating of its fruit."[58] Nevértheless, it must be admitted that when in later times the pipal became, as in the Bharut stūpa representations referred to above, a symbol of the Master and worship was offered to it, and garlands were hung from its branches, the reverence shown to it was not distinguishable from the reverence shown to the pipal as the abode of Viṣṇu by Hindus. Fit to be venerated from its sacred association the tree itself became an object of veneration. The Buddhist literature gives many legends about the sacred Bodhi-tree which do not concern us here. Hiuen Tsang mentions a great Pipal tree of Peshwar near which Kaniṣka built a great stūpa. "This tree seems to have existed and been reverenced down to the time of Baber."[59]

The special regard paid to the sacred fig tree in Buddhist legends and sculptures would also appear to be common to Jainism. Some of the carvings in the famous rock caves in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills in Orissa in which Jaina influence is well-marked testify to the popularity of the cult of pipal in Eastern India. The Jayavijaya cave contains carvings in the second compartment showing in the centre within a railing a holy pipal tree being worshipped by two males and two females; each of the latter holds a plate of offerings; the left male has folded hands and the right male is tying a garland or strips of cloth to a branch.[60] It has been noted above that this peculiar mode of offering still prevails very widely in popular worship in different parts of this country and elsewhere. Again, the fourth tympanum in the Ananta cave shows a pipal tree within a square railing

56 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 230 f.
57 Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharut*, Pl. XXX: Rhys Davids *op. cit.*, p. 228 Fig. 43; p. 229, Fig. 44.
58 Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
59 J. Fergusson. *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1868, p. 44.
60 L. S. S. O'Malley, *Puri District Gazetteer*, 1906, p. 257.

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worshipped by a male with attendants; a woman is holding up a garland to be placed on a branch of the sacred tree and is followed by a female carrying a jar and a plate of offerings.[61]

One aspect of tree worship which features prominently in Buddhist legends and sculptures should be mentioned because it refers to the Fig. Referring to the traces of pre-Buddhistic popular beliefs in the *Jātakas* Rhys Davids writes that this folklore never attributed divine power to the pipal tree. "It happens always to be some other tree.....The tree deities were called Nāgas and were able at will, like the Nāgas, to assume human form; and in one story (Jātaka no. 493) the spirit of a banyan tree who reduced the merchants to ashes is called a Nāga-rāja, the soldiers he sends forth from..... his tree are Nāgas and the tree itself is "the dwelling place of the Nāga."[62] It has been seen above that the pipal and banyan were the abodes of the Gandharvas, Apsarasas, Yakṣas and next of the pretas; the Buddhist legends add the Nāgas to the list. In folk religion of the present day the Nāgas or serpents have a special tree, the Sij (euphorbia), and the Fig tree does not appear to have any thing to do with them.

Thus though the worship of the pipal is popular among the Buddhists their literature and sculptures do not indicate that except the sacred association with the Master the tree had any other idea behind it.

From the foregoing it is possible to distinguish two aspects in the regard paid to the fig tree from the Vedic times down to the present day, e.g., reverence paid to the tree itself and reverence paid to it as an abode or symbol of deity. When the tree itself is worshipped the object is to secure the help of the magical potency of the tree; its branches drive away enemies, its leaves produce intelligence in the child and banish evil spirits, fulfil desires for wealth, male offspring, its bark gives wealth. As an abode the tree serves Gods, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, Yakṣasas, Nāgas and lastly pretas or ghosts.[63] They have to be propitiated for granting desires or for averting their displeasure. These spirits are sometimes embodied in the tree, sometimes they are represented in anthropomorphic forms independently but in close contact with the tree. Such representations abound in Buddhist art. It has been seen that the pipal appears represented both

61 L. S. S. O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 263. 62 Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

63 In Macedonia at this day the country folk avoid the plane, the poplar and the fig, for these are the favourite haunts of fairies. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. XII, p. 452.

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independently and in close contact with the in-dwelling spirit in anthropomorphic form among pre-historic finds at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. It may be said therefore that the popular cult of the Fig tree is of pre-historic origin and the unbroken continuity of the cult which it is possible to trace, shows the very remarkable vitality of the cult.

Now, did the representatives of the chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus Valley develop the cult amongst themselves or borrow it? Dr. Hutton has made a suggestion regarding the origin of the cult which, if it is accepted, would explain to some extent the amazing vitality of the cult. According to him the sanctity of the Fig tree is a contribution of the Negrito substratum of the Indian population. The cult appears among the Andamanese who are approximately a pure Negrito race, because physically and culturally they have been isolated for some five thousand years at least.[64] The cult of the Fig tree is intimately associated with two other cults e.g. (1) fertility cult, and (2) cult of the spirits of the dead. It has been associated with fertility cults and the cult of the dead in South Europe, Africa and Oceania.[65] Hutton explains that "it is probably on account of its milk like sap that the ficus is associated with fertility cults in Africa, Italy, New Guinea as well as in Assam and Southern India."[66] How the cult of the fig could have come to be associated with the cult of the dead is not clearly explained, but it appears that Hutton would attribute the association to the life-essence theory (of Austro-Asiatic and Mediterranean origin) which, according to him, combines fertility and soul-matter cults.[67]

The belief in the sanctity of the fig tree is then, according to him, a contribution of the earliest population of India which was also the earliest population of South-eastern Asia; this is proved by the existence of the cult among the Andamanese and by the traces of its existence among peoples whose kinship with the Negritos is established e.g., in the Malay Peninsula, Indian Archipelago etc.[68] Whether the fig was associated with fertility cults and ancestor-worship in the early stage is not known, but later this association was established in India and other countries. The original cult must have undergone changes at the hands of races which followed though it cannot be said what new elements were added to it by them.

64 J. H. Hutton, *Census of India*, 1931, part I, p. 397.
65 *Ibid.*, p. 443. 66 *Ibid.*, p. 397. 67 *Ibid.*, pp. 393, 417.
68 According to Wake the regard for the pipal extends through Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Sumatra, Java etc.....Wake, *Serpent Worship*, p. 118.

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At the stage it is found in the Indus Valley it had reached a high stage of development, as the works of art which have been unearthed reveal. For this development the Mediterraneans from the Persian Gulf (ultimately from E. Europe) together with brachycephals of the Armenoid branch of the Alpines, the authors of the Indus civilisation, according to Hutton, are responsible.[69] The cult survived the cataclysmic changes following the irruption of the Alpines from Iran and the Pamirs, according to Hutton,[70] which swept away the prosperous civilisation of the Indus Valley and was adopted by the Vedic Aryans. It is important to observe what treatment was accorded to this indigenous cult by the new-comers. The cult was not merely tolerated as a belief of the conquered peoples, but it was also adopted in the official religion. The sacredness of the pipal is only incipient in the *Ṛgveda* as has been observed by Macdonell[71] but in the *Atharva Veda,* as we have seen, in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras* the pipal, udumbara and nyāgrodha occupy important place. In the *Atharva Veda* the worship of the fig is dominated by magico-religious ideas and it is possible that these ideas are a survival of the chalcolithic worship. This need not be regarded wholly as a speculation, because we have seen that in the *Atharva Veda* the pipal is a giver of a male child, the udumbara gives increase in children, cattle etc. and the pipal is also associated with the spirit of the dead; these ideas are associated with it in the Purāṇas and in more elaborate forms in folk-worship; and lastly Hutton has shown that the fig associated with fertility cults in Africa, S. Europe[72] etc., and generally connected also with the spirit of the dead,"[73] was regarded as sacred by the earliest population of the whole of S.E. Asia. If it is undeniable that the pre-historic civilisers of the Indus Valley found the cult pre-existing them in the land it is quite possible that they also found, as the basis of the cult many of the old ideas associated with the tree and probably developed them; this view appears to be confirmed by the subsequent history of the cult.

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69 Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

70 *Ibid.*

71 Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 146

72 (1). Around the Mediterranean sea in antiquity the fig was a favourite emblem of fecundity and artificial phalli were often formed of the fig tree wood.—*ERE.*, vol. IX, p. 819.

(2). The fig tree features prominently in the Aegean art.—*ERE.*, XII, p 452.

73 Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

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Certain Sanskrit Scholars of Medieval Bengal bearing the name "Rāmabhadra"

The name Rāmabhadra appears to have been very popular in the period immediately following the golden epoch of the intellectual history of Bengal when scholars like Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi and others were revolutionising the various branches of learning, viz., Smṛti, Nyāya, etc. As a matter of fact we meet with three scholars bearing the name Rāmabhadra with the distinguishing epithets Nyāyālaṃkāra, Sārvabhauma and Siddhānta-Vāgīśa, and many works on Smṛti, Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, Vyākaraṇa, Tantra, and Kāvya are associated with the names of one or other of them. Some works again are ascribed simply to "Rāmabhadra" without any epithet whatsoever. It is for us to examine which books were actually written by which of these scholars. Besides this we propose, in this paper, to identify these authors, to determine their approximate dates, and also to give a very brief account of the works composed by them. Most of the MSS. being not available at hand we have necessarily to depend on the *Notices* and *Catalogues* of MSS. for certain details of the works, such as the date of copying, description of contents, number of their pages etc.

1. *Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya*

A. Literary Works

(i) *Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha*, variously called *Smṛti-tattva-vinirṇaya*, *Smṛti-saṃgraha*, *Vyavasthā-Vivecana*, *Vyavasthā-saṃkṣepa*, or, *Vyavasthārṇava*.[1]

(ii) *Dāya-bhāga-vivṛti* (*dīpikā*, *-ṭikā*).[2]

(iii) *Vidvan-modinī*.[3]

(iv) *Śuddhi-tattva-kārikā* or simply *Śuddhi-kārikā* (?)[4]

1 Dacca University MS. No. 661A, *India Office Catalogue*, III. p. 485, No. 1567 (640), 1568 (743), 1569 (638a), P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 669. H. P. Sastri, *Notices* (Second Series), I, p. 413 (No. 415).

2 Ed. Bharat Śiromaṇi, R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, VI. No. 2106.

3 R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, VII. p. 257 (No. 2505).

4 H. P. Sastri, *Notices*, II. (Second Series), p. 197 (219), p 196 (No. 218), *Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS. in Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. III, Nos. 5136, 10819, 116,

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The Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha

The *Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha* of the Dacca University collections seems to be the same as the *Smṛti-saṃgraha* of the India Office with slight modifications. Besides a close resemblance in the names of the two works we find certain lines common to both. For instance, the line एतच्च कन्यानुमतौ वाग्दत्ताया अपि कन्याकुमारीवद् विवाहःoccurs in both these works. Again the I.O. MS. reads अथ उद्वाहनिर्णयः। तत्र सापिण्ड्यं निरूप्यते।whereas the D.U. MS. reads अथोद्वाहसंक्षेपः। तत्र...निरूप्यते। The line प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्था। तत्रादौ प्रायश्चित्तलक्षणम् etc. occurs in both the MSS. Both quote certain verses from the *Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā* at the end of the Śuddhi-vyavasthā. The topics dealt with by both the works are the same with one or two variations. For these reasons these two seem to be different versions of the same work although their beginnings and colophons are different. The MS. entitled *Smṛti-tattva vinirṇaya,* noticed by H. P. Sastri, has no colophon but its introductory verses ascribe the work to "Rāmabhadra." The Dacca University MS. referred to above has no introductory verse at all, nor does it have the same ending as the other one. Yet the two books should not be considered different from each other. The line प्रायः सङ्कल्पानामेव कर्मणामारम्भकत्वात् आदौ स एव निरूप्यते which follows the introductory verse in Sastri's MS. occurs in folio 47b of the Dacca University MS., and Sastri's description of the contents of the former corresponds with that of the latter. The omission of the introductory verse in the D.U. MS. might have been accidental or its occurrence in the other one might have been due to interpolation by later writers or copyists. From the above discussion it seems that the very same Smṛti work of Rāmabhadra passed by different names and in different versions. The copyists perhaps altered the arrangement of the topics of the original work according to their own convenience.

With regard to the *Vyavasthārṇava,* preserved in the India Office, it is not clear why the I.O. Catalogue calls it a part of the *Smṛti-saṃgraha* while the colophon ascribes it to one Rāghava Bhaṭṭa.

The *Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha,* covering over a hundred pages, is a digest containing the usual Smṛti topics dealt with by Raghunandana in his twenty-eight Tattvas. The topics are, to mention only the most important ones, Śuddhi (purification), Śrāddha (Offering oblations to the Manes), Prāyaścitta

3357, 5009 (Serial Nos. 2100, 2101, 2291-93), R. L. Mitra, *Notices.* Vol. II. p. 313 (No. 920).

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(penances), Tithi (particular days suitable to particular religious observances), Udvāha (marriage), Mala-māsa (intercalary month), etc. In this book the views of the Bengal school have been set forth in contrast with those of the Mithilā school, and authorities, both older and contemporary, have been freely quoted and attempted to be reconciled. The author occasionally gives his own independent remarks. The book is written in a simple language, and the writer seldom or never indulges in those recondite discussions of purely academic value with which the average reader of Raghunandana is familiar with.

Besides the traditional writers of Dharmaśāstra like Manu and Yājñavalkya, etc., the author cites a host of comparatively recent writers of whom the following deserve special mention:—

Vācaspati Miśra, Smārta (i.e. Raghunandana), Pakṣadhara Miśra, Haridāsa Tarkācārya, Kullūka, Aniruddha, Jikana. Halāyudha, Mahādeva Bhaṭṭa, Narāyaṇa-upādhyāya, Śiromaṇi Bhaṭṭācārya (i.e. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭācārya), Govindānanda, Śomamiśra, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, Dhanañjaya, and so on. To the contemporary writers he usually refers by the terms Navyāh, Navīnāh, Ādhunikāh, etc.

Of the numerous works cited in this book the following are important:—

Mitākṣarā, Kalpataru, Yājñavalkya-ṭīkā of Devavodha, *Saṭ-trimśan-mata, Hāra-latā, Sugati-sopāna, Gaṅgā-māhātmya, Kapila-pāñca-rātra, Bhagavad-gītā, Śrāddha-viveka, Srāddha-tattva, Mala-māsa-tattva,* etc.

Among the Purāṇas are mentioned the *Ādi, Brahma, Kūrma, Bhaviṣya, Kālikā,* and the *Matsya.*

The Dāya-bhāga-ṭīkā

This seems to have been the real name of the work as it is so called in the colophon. The word "Vivṛti" or exposition occurring in the introductory verse refers to the nature of the work. It is a commentary on the *Dāya-bhāga* of *Jīmūtavāhana.*

The Vidvan-modinī

It is a commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśam* of Kālidāsa up to the twelfth canto.

The Śuddhi-tattva-kārikā

It is of doubtful authorship being diversely attributed to Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṁkāra, Nārāyaṇa Vandyopādhyāya, Harinārāyaṇa, etc. It is curious

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that all the MSS., though attributed to different authors, appear from the description of their contents to be copies of the same work. Going by the majority one should suppose that the work was composed by Nārāyaṇa and that the names of other writers were later associated with it by scribes through oversight or for some other reason. Out of the seven MSS., so far known, as many as three are attributed to Nārāyaṇa and two to Harinārāyaṇa. Of the remaining two one is ascribed to Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra and the other has no name of the author. It may be noted that the last-mentioned MS., which is surmised to be Rāmabhadra in the *Asiatic Society Catalogue*, has a beginning different from the rest though its introductory verse is the same; hence it seems to be a different work. But to add to our confusion we find that MS. No. 219 of Sastri's *Notices*, Vol. II. (2nd Series) which is clearly attributed to Rāmabhadra, appears to be similar to the rest and unlike the one supposed to be of Rāmabhadra in the *Asiatic Society Catalogue*. It is perhaps significant that the date of copying the MS., clearly assigned to Rāmabhadra, is Śaka 1714, while the other dated MSS. of the work range from Śaka 1767-1774. Nārāyaṇa, who is believed to have lived in the early part of the eighteenth century,[5] is definitely later than Rāmabhaddra Nyāyālaṃkāra, son of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi. Therefore the MS. bearing the earlier date may have been a work of Rāmabhadra. But the close resemblance in the description of the contents of the different MSS. stands in the way of our coming to any definite conclusion on this point. The name Harinārāyaṇa, however, found only in two of the MSS. which are almost synchronous with others, may perhaps be regarded as a mistake for Nārāyaṇa.

B. Personal history

According to the *India Office Catalogue* a MS. of the *Smṛti-saṃgraha* describes the author Rāmabhadra as Navadvīpa-nivāsin or a resident of Navadvīpa in Bengal, and adds to his name the epithets Mahāmahopādhyāya, Nyāyālaṃkāra and Bhaṭṭācārya. The colophon to the Dacca University MS. of the *Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha*, however, adds only Bhaṭṭācārya to the name Rāmabhadra who seems to be the same man as Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya. It is quite possible that out of

5 See H. P. Sastri—*Notices of Sans. MSS.* Vol. I. (Second Series)—Preface, p. XIV.

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the three long titles the Dacca University MS. retained only one to the exclusion of others which might have been too well-known to need any repetition in the MS.

Besides giving the above epithets of Rāmabhadra the colophon to the *Dāyabhāga-ṭīkā* describes the author as Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇitanuja, i.e., the son of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi. The epithet Nyāyālaṃkāra is also found in the doubtful *Śuddhi-kārikā* and all the epithets in the *Vidvanmodinī*. From the above we may conclude that Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya was a son of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi of Navadvīpa, the celebrated teacher of the renowned Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya, and author of many treatises on Smṛti having the usual endings "arṇava," "dīpikā," "candrikā" and "viveka." That this Rāmabhadra had at least six sons, two of whom were named Rāmeśvara and Raghumaṇi, is proved by the introductory verses of the MSS. of the *Tantra-pramoda*[6] and the *Āgama-sāra*[7] respectively. From these verses we can gather that Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya was an erudite scholar of great repute living on the banks of the Ganges (*Jahnu-kanyā-pratīra*) and that many Brahmins thronged to him and also that he was very charitably disposed (*dānair-dainya-daraugha-dāraṇa-paṭuh*) making large gifts to the poor. Rāmeśvara and Raghumaṇi describe themselves as the second and the sixth son respectively of Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra.

C. His date

As has been pointed out above this Rāmabhadra was son of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi. Śrīnātha is believed to have lived sometime between 1490 & 1525 A.D.[8] This is, of course, the upper limit of Rāmabhadra's date. Of the authors and commentators on Navya-smṛti and Navya-nyāya this Rāmabhadra mentions, *inter alia*, the names of Smārta Bhaṭṭācārya (or simply Smārta),[9] Śiromaṇi Bhaṭṭācārya[10] and Govindānanda.[11] The date of Raghunandana, popularly known as Smārta Bhaṭṭācārya, ranges between 1490 & 1570 A.D.[12] Śiromaṇi Bhaṭṭācārya, whose real name was Raghunātha, was a famous logician of Bengal, and is believed to have lived in the first

6 Vide Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. I. p. 139 (No. 260).
7 *Ibid.*, p. 141 (No. 266).
8 M. Chakravarti in *JASB.*, 1915, p. 351.
9 D.U. MS. of *Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha*, *op. cit.*, Fol. 16, 36, 119b, etc.
10 *Ibid.*, Fol. 114a.
11 *Ibid.*, Fol. 118b.
12 Kane, *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 419.

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quarter of the 16th century A.D.[13] Govindānanda's literary activity is generally placed between 1500 & 1540 A.D.[14] Thus we may approximately place this Rāmabhadra between the second quarter of the 16th century and the first decade of the 17th.

2. *Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya*

A. Literary Works

Nyāya-vaiśeṣika

(i) *Padārtha-khaṇḍana-ṭippanī*, variously called *Padārtha-viveka-prakāśa*, *Padārtha-tattva-vivecana-prakāśa* or *Padārtha-khaṇḍana-ṭikā*[15]

(ii) *Nyāya-kusumāñjali-vyākhyā* (or, *-kārikā-vyākhyā*).[16]

(iii) *Guṇa-rahasya*.[17]

(iv) *Nyāya-rahasya*.[18]

(v) *Dīdhiti-ṭīkā*.[19]

Tantra

(vi) *Ṣaṭ-cakra-dīpikā* (or, *-vivaraṇa*), variously called *Ṣaṭ-cakra-krama-dīpikā* or simply *Cakra-dīpikā*.[20]

Grammar

(vii) *Samāsa-vāda*.[21]

The Padārtha-khaṇḍana-tīkā

Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's work, on which the present book is a commentary, "is known under four different names, viz., *Padārtha-khaṇḍana*, *Padārtha-tattva*, *Padārtha-tattva-vivecana*, and *Padārtha-nirūpaṇa*"[22] and the commentary is indicated by adding the terms "ṭīkā," "ṭippanī," and "prakāśa" to any of these names at option. The name *Pādārtha-khaṇḍana* appears to be the name originally assigned to his work by Raghunātha "as

13 *A Hist. of Ind. Logic*, S. C. Vidyabhusana, p. 463.
14 *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
15 D.U. MS. No. 2638, *Calcutta Sans. College Cat.*, III. p. 241 (No. 399) and p. 268 (N.o. 465), Mitra's *Notices*, III. No. 1132.
16 *Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.*, III. No. 318; Mitra's *Notices*, II. No. 525.
17 D.U. MS. No. 364..
18 *JASB.*, 1915, p. 280 and *Hist. of Ind. Logic*, *op. cit.*, p. 469.
19 *Ibid.*,
20 D.U. MS. No. 1884 and Sastri's *Notices*, I. (Second Series), p. 386 (No. 383).
21 Mitra's *Notices*, VII. p. 124 (No. 2252) and *Cal Sans. Coll. Cat.*, Vol. VIII. p. 146 (No. 190).
22 Mitra's *Notices*, III. p. 85 under No. 1132.

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Raghudeva Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya styles his commentary on the work, *Padārtha-khaṇḍana-vyākhyā*, and it has no aliases."[23]

A commentary on the *Padārtha-khaṇḍana* it treats of such topics as दिक्कालयोरीश्वरातिरिक्तत्वखण्डनम्, मनसः खण्डनम् etc.

The Nyāya-kusumāñjali-vyākhyā

It is a commentary on Udayana's *Kusumāñjali*, "in which he mentions the *Prakāśa* (of Vardhamāna) and the *Makaranda* (of Rucidatta), written according to his father's interpretations."[24]

The Guṇa-rahasya

According to M. Chakravarti it is a commentary on the *Guṇa-kiraṇāvalī* of Udayanācārya. Some, however, consider it to be an independent work written on the lines of *Vaiśeṣika-darśana-bhāṣya*, etc. of Praśastapadācārya.

The Nyāya-rahasya

-"a commentary on Gotama's *Nyāya-sūtra* itself, quoted in Jagadīsa Tarkālaṃkāra's *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā*."[25]

The Dīdhiti-ṭīkā

-"a sub-commentary of Raghunātha's commentary, of which fragments only have been found, viz., *Vāyu-vāda*, (Anumāna), *Nañ-vāda*, and *Samāsa-vāda* (Śabda)."[26]

The Saṭ-cakra-dīpikā

This seems to have been the real name of the work as it is so called in the colophon to the MS. No. 383 of Sastri's *Notices*, Vol. I (Second Series). The introductory verse, however, calls it *Cakra-dīpikā* the word "Saṭ" being omitted probably for metrical necessity. Both the Dacca University MS. and the one just referred to begin as "Atha Saṭ-cakra-vivaraṇam" after the introductory verse. Hence the word "Saṭ-cakra-vivaraṇa" should perhaps be regarded as a reference to the topic to be dealt with and not as a name of the work.

23 Mitra's *Notices*, III. p. 85 under No. 1132.
24 M. Chakravarti in *JASB.*, 1915, *op. cit.*, p. 280. 25 *Ibid.*, 26 *Ibid.*

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The work deals with such matters as सृष्टिक्रम, देहोत्पत्ति, चतुर्विंशतितत्त्व, गूढतत्त्व, देह, षट्चक्र, परमात्मसाक्षात्कार, and प्रसव, etc.

The Samāsa-vāda

According to M. Chakravarti this is a part of the *Dīdhiti-ṭīkā* of the same author, but the introductory verses of and the colophons to the extant MSS. of the *Samāsa-vāda* do not substantiate this view. Had it been so, in the introductory verse of the work or in its colophon we would expect at least a mention of the larger treatise of which it is supposed to be a part. 'Furthermore, it is not the usual practice among writers to begin each chapter of a work with a separate introductory verse.

B. Personal history

In the colophons to his works this Rāmabhadra is often styled Mahāmahopādhyāya and Sārvabhauma. The introductory verses of some of his works seem to throw some light, though not very clear, on the personal history of the author. These verses are as follows: —

1. सपत्नीकं **गुरुं** नत्वा तथैव कुलदेवताम् । रामभद्रसार्वभौमः कुरुते चक्रदीपिकाम् ॥
(*Saṭ-cakra-dīpikā*)

2. वंशीमधुरनिनादैर्मोहितगोपाङ्गनाचित्तः । गायद्गोपशिशूनां मध्ये नृत्यन् हरिर्जयति ॥
चूडामणि.....गुणरहस्यकम् । रामभद्रसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्यैर्विधीयते ॥
(*Guṇa-rahasya*, D.U. MS. No. 364)

3. **तातस्य** तर्कसरसीरुहकाननेषु **चूडामणे**र्दिनमणेश्चरणौ प्रणम्य ।
श्रीरामभद्रसुकृती कृतिनां हिताय लीलावशात् किमपि कौतुकमातनोति ॥
(*Padārtha-khaṇḍana-ṭīkā*)

4. **भवानीभवनाथाभ्यां** पितृभ्यां प्रणमाम्यहम्
यत्प्रसादादिदं शास्त्रं कदक्षीरोपमं कृतम् ॥
मकरन्दप्रकाशे या व्याख्या मलिमलेऽथवा ।
ततोऽधिकां पितुर्व्याख्यामाख्यातुमयमुद्यमः ॥
[Intro-verses 2 and 3 of *Kusumāñjali-vyākhyā*,
Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat., Vol. III. p. 200, No. 318]

The first of the above verses does not help us materially as it does not mention the name of the Guru. The mention of Cūḍāmaṇi in the second verse is significant. but the portion immediately following the word being completely effaced we are not in a position to ascertain whether Cūḍāmaṇi has been mentioned as a teacher of the author or simply as a Pūrvācārya. Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi was well-known as a teacher of Nyāya and it is

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very likely that he has been referred to as his Guru by Rāmabhadra in this work on Nyāya. Otherwise the mention of Cūḍāmaṇi here cannot be explained satisfactorily.

The third verse, however, is highly significant. It appears to admit of two interpretations:—

(1) **तर्कसरसीरुहकाननेषु** (in the forests of lotuses in the shape of Dialectics) **दिनमणेः (इव) तातस्य चूडामणेः** (of the father Cūḍāmaṇi who is the sun, as it were) **चरणौ प्रणम्य** (having saluted the feet), etc.

(2) **तातस्य तर्कसरसीरुहकाननेषु** (in the forests of lotuses in the shape of Dialectics emanating from the father) **दिनमणेः (इव) चूडामणेः चरणौ प्रणम्य**

Cūḍāmaṇi obviously refers to Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, the celebrated teacher of Raghunandana, the famous Smṛti writer of Bengal. The author seems to pay homage to Cūḍāmaṇi who enlightened him in the obscure Tarkaśāstra in which his father was an adept. Just as lotuses bloom at the rise of the sun, the dispeller of darkness, so also the mind of the author was enlightened by Cūḍāmani with respect to the abstruse science of Dialectics. All difficulty lies in the word "tāta" (father). Is it to be construed with **तर्कसरसीरुहकाननेषु,** or supposed to be in apposition with Cūḍāmaṇi? The latter meaning is untenable because Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra being definitely known to be a son of Śrīnātha it is not at all possible that another of his brothers bore the same name with only a different epithet. The former meaning seems appropriate because it is in the fitness of things that the author should make a reference to his father whose work, the *Padārthakhaṇḍana,* he was commenting upon. It may, therefore, be deduced that the present Rāmabhadra was a son of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi and a pupil of Śrīnātha. Śiromaṇi and Cūḍāmaṇi having been contemporaneous there can be no possible objection to this conjecture. This view is also shared by Hall, of whose supposition, however, M. Chakravarti finds "no proof."[27]

From the fourth verse M. Chakravarti concludes that the author was a son of Bhavanātha and Bhavānī. This conjecture is, however, open to criticism. In the last line of the verse the author admittedly praises "his father's teachings as better than those in the *Prakāśa* and *Makaranda.*"[28] This clearly implies that the father of the author was a logician of deep erudition. But the name Bhavanātha is nowhere to be met with in the whole range of the Nyāya literature. In none of the numerous MSS. of

27 *JASB.*, 1915, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 281.

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this Rāmabhadra's works except this do we find Bhavanātha and Bhavānī mentioned as parents of the author. Moreover, it is curious and a matter of very rare occurence that the name of the wife should have almost the precise feminine form of the husband's name. The fact seems to be that by these words the writer refers to Śiva with his consort, whom he salutes at the beginning of his work. A similar instance of saluting these particular deities together may be found in the words Pārvatī-parameśvarau in the first verse of the *Raghuvaṃśam* of Kālidāsa.

C. His date

As pointed out above the date of Śrīnātha is believed to fall between 1490 & 1525 A.D. If Śrīnātha was the teacher of the author then the above date becomes the upper limit of the latter's time. The earliest known MS. of Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma was copied in Saṃvat 1670 or 1613 A.D. which date, therefore, supplies the lower limit of his date. Jagadīśa Tarkā-Laṃkāra, a well-known logician of Bengal, mentions Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma as his Guru[29] or preceptor and associates the *Nyāya-rahasya* with his name. Jagadīśa's date, according to M. Chakravarti,[30] falls roughly between 1590 & 1625 A.D. Therefore this Rāmabhadra must have flourished earlier. Jayarāma Nyāya-pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya, another Bengali logician of repute, mentions "Rāmabhadra" in the introductory verses of one of his books.[31] But Jayarāma here gives none of the epithets of Rāmabhadra nor does he expressly mention him as his Guru. It is not clear how from mere mention of the name. M. Chakravarti concludes that Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma was the preceptor of Jayarāma. The practice of saluting a Pūrvācārya in the introductory verses of a work is not unknown among the old Sanskrit scholars but that does not necessarily prove that the person so adored was the preceptor of the writer. If Jayarāma refers to this Rāmabhadra then the latter must be assigned to a date anterior to 1600-1625 A.D., the approximate date of Jayarāma.[32]

29 Cp. श्रीसार्वभौमस्य गुरोः..... Vide *JASB.*, 1915, *op. cit.*, p. 282 (footnote) इति पुनर्न्यायरहस्ये अस्मद्गुरुचरणाः—*Ibid.*

30 *JASB.*, 1915, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

31 Cp. मूर्ध्न्याधाय च रामभद्रचरणद्वन्द्वारविन्दद्वयम्—*JASB.*, 1915, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

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3. *Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya*

A. Literary Works

Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā-ṭikā(-subodhinī or, *-prabodhinī).*[33]

This is the only work of the author known till now. It is a commentary on the *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā* of Jagadīśa.

B. Personal history

In the colophons to the MSS. of his works the author is often styled Navadvīpīya, Siddhāntavāgīśa, Mahāmahopādhyāya and Bhaṭṭācārya. S. C. Vidyabhusana[34] describes this author as a grandson of Jagadīśa Tarkālaṃkāra. But in fact he seems to have been a pupil of Jagadīśa, because in the introductory verse of the above book he salutes his Guru who is mentioned to be the author of the work he commented upon,[35] and Jagadīśa is well-known as the author of the *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā*. Had Jagadīśa been both the grand-father and the Guru of the author it would seem unnatural that Rāmabhadra should have referred to him only as Guru and not at all to his personal relationship.

C. His date

Jagadīśa, whether the grand-father or the Guru of Rāmabhadra, was certainly the author of the work on which the latter wrote his commentary. Now as Jagadīśa is believed to have lived some time between the last decade of the 16th century and the first quarter of the 17th, Siddhāntavāgīśa may be placed roughly in the second quarter of the 17th century.

Works attributed to "Rāmabhadra" without any distinguishing epithet.

1. *KU SU PĀ.*[36]
2. *Śleṣa-virodhinī.*[37]
3. *Dāya-bhāga-siddhānta-kumuda-candrikā.*[38]

33 *Cal. Skt. College Cat.*, III. p. 265 (No. 460). p. 326 (No. 580). Mitra's *Notices*, I. p. 104 (No. 194), *Sastri's Notices*, X. p. 109 (No. 3367).

34 *A Hist. of Ind. Logic, op. cit.*, p. 480.

35 C.p. गिरिमिव गुरुमिह नत्वा ततकृतशब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिकासु etc.

36 D.U. MS. No. 4248.

37 *Sastri's Notices*, X. p. 70 (No. 3313).

38 *Mitra's Notices*, VI. p. 142 (No. 2079).

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The KU SU PĀ

In the Dacca University Collections we find a very small MS. which has neither any introductory verse nor any colophon. The name of the work and its authorship are hinted at by the words "*Rāmabhadrī KU SU PĀ*" noted on the righthand margin of three pages of the MS. Some folia, however, contain on the margin the words "*Hari KU SU PĀ*" instead of those mentioned above. *KU SU PĀ* may be an abbreviation for *Kusumā-ñjali-pātrā*, the term "pātrā" being commonly used by the Paṇḍits to mean handbooks which are, so to say, abridged editions of larger treatises prepared for ready reference. It may be that this *Kusumā-ñjali-pātrā* of Rāmabhadra was an abridged version of the *Kusumā-ñjali-vyākhyā* of the same author. The work deals with only a portion of the *Kusumā-ñjali* of Udayana.

The word "Hari" in "*Hari KU SU PĀ*", though not very clear in a work of Rāmabhadra, may refer to the reputed logician Haridāsa Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya. By *Hari KU SU PĀ* the author may mean the *Kusumā-ñjali-pātrā* written on the lines of Haridāsa, author of the noted *Kusumā-ñjali-vyākhyā*. Haridāsa's date falls roughly towards the end of the 15th century A.D. and he is, therefore, much earlier than Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma. *Hari KU SU PĀ* may as well mean the *Kusumā-ñjali-pātrā* of Haridāsa. Possibly the "pātrās" both of Haridāsa and of Rāmabhadra were mixed up.

The Śleṣa-virodhinī

It is a commentary on the *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya* of Kavirāja.

This work presents a good deal of difficulty with regard to the identification of its author. The introductory verse ascribes the work to "Rāmabhadra" without any of the usual epithets. The author salutes one Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya[39] without mentioning the latter's relationship with himself. In no other works of the above three Rāmabhadras, known till now, do we find the author making an honourable mention of Tarkavāgīśa in the introductory verses. From the respectful mention of his name at the commencement of the work it seems that Tarkavāgīśa was either the teacher or the father of the author. Now who this Tarkavāgīśa possibly was? In the history of Bengal Logic we find the names of two eminent scholars

39 Cp. नत्वा श्रीमत्तर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्यपादकम् etc.

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with the common epithet Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya. They are Kaṇāda and Mathurānātha. Tradition, preserved among the present-day Paṇḍits of Bengal, generally refers by this short title of Tarkavāgīśa to Mathurānātha, the author of the *Māthurī*, the well-known commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya. From the introductory verses mentioned above we learn that the author wrote such commentaries as *Kumāra-stava-vyākhyā* and *Kumāra-kaumudī*, etc.

It may be that this Rāmabhadra, a commentator on various Kāvya works, is the same person as the author of the *Vidvan-modinī*. Both the names of the *Vidvan-modinī* and of the *Śleṣa-virodhinī*, by the likeness of their forms, seem to have been chosen by one man. Rāmabhadra, son of Śrīnātha, is the author of the *Vidvan-modinī*, and none of the other two Rāmabhadras is known to have had Kāvya as one of the subjects of his study. As aforesaid, from the *Śleṣa-virodhinī* itself we learn that the author was a commentator on various poetical works. Hence it will perhaps not be without any substantial ground to attribute both these commentaries to Śrīnātha's son named Rāmabhadra. It may be that the *Vidvan-modinī*, which was perhaps written later than the *Śleṣa-virodhinī*, was not included in the list of the author's commentaries appended to the latter. Or, the omission might have been purely accidental. From the point of view of dates there is no absurdity in Śrīnātha's son having been a pupil of either Kaṇāda or of Mathurānātha, both of them flourishing after Śrīnātha, or, at least, having been his earlier and later contemporaries respectively. Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra being silent about the name of his Guru in his other works there is no difficulty in supposing Tarkavāgīśa to have been his teacher from the respectful mention of the latter's name in the *Śleṣa-virodhinī*.

Th Dāya-bhāga-siddhānta-kumuda-candrikā

In the colophon to a MS. of this work it is ascribed to one Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmabhadra. But as no other distinguishing epithet is added to the name of the author and because from the dsecription of its contents the work appears to be different from the *Dāya-bhāga-ṭīkā* of Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra we are not in a position to identify the author. M. Chakravarti, however, holds it to be a work of Acyutānanda Cakravartī. but wrongly assigned to Rāmabhadra in the MS. referred to above.[40]

40 *JASB.*, 1915, *op. cit.*, p. 345 and 362.

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The results of our above discussions may briefly be stated as follows:—

1. Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya. (*Circa* 1550-1610).
   Author of
   (i) *Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha.*
   (ii) *Dāya-bhāga-ṭīkā.*
   (iii) *Vidvan-modinī.*
   (iv) *Śleṣa-virodhinī.*
   (v) *Śuddhi-tattva-kārikā.*

2. Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya. (*Circa*, end of the 16th century).
   Author of
   (i) *Padārtha-khaṇḍana-ṭīkā.*
   (ii) *Nyāya-kusumāñjali-vyākhyā.*
   Kusumā-ñjali-pātrā.
   (iii) *Guṇa-rahasya.*
   (iv) *Nyāya-rahasya.*
   (v) *Dīdhiti-ṭīkā.*
   (vi) *Ṣaṭ-cakra-dīpikā.*
   (vii) *Samāsa-vāda.*

3. Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya. (*Circa* 1650).
   Author of the
   Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā-ṭīkā.

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

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Some Tales of Ancient Israel, their Originals and Parallels*

2. Solomon's Judgment

A. *The story in the Bible*

An instance of Solomon's wisdom is related in the Bible, 1 Kings, Ch. 3. Two harlots came before the king. They dwelt in the same house. One said that she was delivered of a child, and the other was also delivered on the third day, but by overlaying it she killed it and took her son from her side and laid it in her bosom. Both of them claimed the living child. The king ordered: "Divide the living child into two, and give half to the one and half to the other."

"26. Then spake the woman whose the living child *was* unto the king, for her bowels yearned upon her son, and she said, O my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it. But the other said, let it be neither mine nor thine, *but* divide it."

"27. Then the king said, Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it: she *is* the mother thereof."

B. *Mahosadha's Judgment*

(extract from the cy. on Mahāummagga-Jātaka no. 546.)

Story of the son—A certain woman had come to Mahosadha's tank, bathed her son, laid him on her dress and herself entered the tank to bathe. A Yakṣiṇī (female goblin) desiring to eat the child, put on the guise of a woman, came to the spot, begged permission of the mother to suckle him, and after playing with him for a while carried him off. The other ran after her crying, "Where are you taking away my boy?" The Yakṣiṇī said, "Whence did you get your son? he is my son." The dispute came before Mahosadha. He knew at once by her unwinking and red eyes that she was a goblin but helped the public to find out the truth. He drew a line on the ground, laid the boy in the middle of it, bade the Yakṣiṇī hold the boy by the hands, and the mother by the legs and said, "The boy belongs to

* Continued from p. 233.

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her who pulls him over." Both began to pull, but the boy thus stretched began to cry in pain; the mother let him go and stood weeping (*mātā badayeṇa phalitena viya puttaṃ mocetva rodamānā aṭṭhāsi*). To her the child was given. Mahosadha disclosed the identity of the Yakṣiṇī to the assembly and admonished her: "*Andhabāle, pubbe pi pāpakaṃ katvā yakkhinī jātāsi, idāni pana pi pāpaṃ karosi...*"

C. *Jain Stories from Nandī Sūtra*

(*i*) No. 17. *Story of the Putta* (son)—A certain merchant had two wives, the one bore a son, the other was sterile. The other had, however, so much affection for the boy that he did not know particularly who was his real mother. The merchant went with his son and two wives to another land where he died. The wives started quarelling. The one said, "The boy is mine, I am therefore the mistress of the house." The other retorted likewise. The mother came to the court. The *amātya* ordered his officers: "Look here, first divide all articles, and then divide the boy by a saw, and having done that give one part to the one and the other to the other. When the real mother of the boy heard the order she was stunned as if a thousand-flamed thunderbolt had struck her head, and the oblique dart of sorrow had pierced the very core of her heart. She said "My lord, the minister, let hers be the son, let her be the mistress also, I have no need of money, I would fain live away in poverty in another's house, still see my son alive; without my son, even now, I feel the world is sinking in darkness." The other woman spoke nothing. The boy was given to the rightful mother.

(*ii*) *Story of Tīrthaṅkara Sumatinātha's Mother* (*who was a queen*).—The Tīrthaṅkara was so called because when he was in the womb of his mother, her intellect sharpened, and she gave the wise verdict noted below. (See Mrs. Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism* p. 52, also *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra ... *Yadvā garbhasthe jananyāh suniścitā matirabhuditi Sumati*).

This incident is also told in (*iii*) another story of the Nandīsūtra viz. *Atthasattha* as follows:—An old banker came with two wives and son to the country of Sumatinātha and died there. Each woman claimed the one child as hers. At this time Lord Sumati was in the womb of his mother Maṅgalādevī. She knew the truth. She summoned the two wives and said, "After a few days my son will be born; wher he will grow up, he will sit

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under the Aśoka tree and solve your dispute, therefore do you bide the time, eat and drink without care." Then the woman who was not the mother of the boy thought, "Anyhow I have got so much time, I do not know what will happen hereafter" and gladly assented to the proposal. The queen knew she was not the mother of the boy and scolded her, and declared the other to be the real mother. The queen's *autpattikī buddhi*.

D. *A Tibetan Tale*

This has a close parallel in *Tibetan Tales* (pp. 120-21). A householder whose wife bore no child took a concubine who bore a son but who fearing harm from the step-mother made him over to the wife. The wife thought: "As she who has a son ranks as the mistress of the house, I will bring him up." On the death of the householder the wives quarrelled about the possession of the house, each asserting that it belonged to her. The king asked the ministers to enquire about the ownership of the son. The ministers could not decide. Viśākhā advised Mṛgadhara to ask the women to pull the boy, and whoever was the stronger would take him. When the boy being pulled would cry out for pain, the real mother would let him go knowing that if her child remained alive she would be able to see him again.

Johannes Hertel[5] writing in 1922 observed: "Let us first consider the *problem of the migration of stories*. The story books which have been proved to have been imported, directly or indirectly, from India to Europe, and previously to the establishment of British rule in India are the following: the story of Barlaam and Joasaph, the books contained in 'Kalilah and Dimnah' ... a Jain recension of Śukasaptati, the romance of Syntipas and the voyage of the Sons of Giaffer." A characteristic story of the Syntipas was discovered in Ratnacūḍa-kathā narrated in two Śvetambara books, one in old Gujrati and the other in Sanskrit. He has no doubt that "some day or other, the other two will be discovered in the literature of the Śvetambars of Gujrat."

With regard to the story of the judgment of Solomon he says: "It has indeed been proved that the premises on which the whole story has been constructed are only to be found in India..... In all the other cases the only way to arrive at sound conclusions is, to compare the whole mass

5 J. Hertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

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of all the European variants of a story to the whole mass of the Indian variants of the same story, and to prove, on the basis of the results of such an examination, that a single variant, which of course in most cases will not be the original one, was transferred from India to Europe, or *vice-versa*." The task is stupendous. I have been putting forth efforts in this direction.

3. Solomon's Wisdom

A. *The Root-end of a stick*

(*i*) The Queen of Sheba puts a number of riddles to Solomon. One of them is:

19. The Queen of Sheba thereupon ordered that the sawn trunk of a cedar tree be brought, and then she asked Solomon to tell her at which end the root had been and at which end the branches.

Solomon ordered the trunk to be cast into the water, and one end sank, whilst the other floated on the surface of the water. Then he said unto her: "The part which sank was the root, and that which floated on the surface was the end containing the branches."[6]

(*ii*) *Jain Nandīsūtra*

A king of a foreign country sent to the Muruṇḍa king of Pāṭaliputra three curious things of which one was *samā yaṣṭī* i.e. a level stick, of uniform roundness and asked him to tell which was the root-end. Ācārya Pādalipta who was at his court bade the stick be thrown into water, one end was found to be heavier than the other, therefore that was the root of the stick. This story is also found in (*iii*) Jaina Pariśiṣṭaparvan. (*iv*) One version occurs in Pāli Jat. no. 546 (story no. 8)—"The Pole." A span of acacia pole nicely turned was sent to East Market Town and the people ordered to find which was the top and which the root of the stick." Mahosadha tied a string round its middle, let it down in water, the root being heavier sank first. (*v*) Another version is given in the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya, (*Gilgit Mss.*, III, 2. p. 64).

(*vi*) In the preface to Jīvānanda's edition of *Mudrārākṣasa* the following story occurs: Once some kings advised by ministers sent to king Nanda

6 Rappoport—*Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel*, vol. III. pp. 120-30. See also p. 127: "The *Midrash Hachefez* however contains nineteen riddles" A similar story in Jāt. no. 546.

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of Magadha a sealed casket containing a cubit length of *deodar* wood smoothly and evenly turned requesting him to find out the top and root end of the stick (*kimasya mūlaṃ kā vāsya śikhā*). The problem was similarly solved by the Brahman Subuddhi who was made the Chief minister of the king and in time became the celebrated Rākṣasa.

(*vii*) *A Tibetan Tale* (*Mahausadha and Visākha*)

"On another occasion, a merchant from the south brought a stem of sandal wood, of which no one knew the upper end from the lower. Mahausadha's wife told him to throw the stem into a pool. The root end would then sink downwards." (*viii*) See also *Śukasaptati-38th Night.*

B. *Various relations between a woman and her son*

Said the Queen of Sheba: "I will ask thee another question. A woman once said unto her son: Thy father is my father, thy grandfather my husband; thou art my son but I am thy sister."

To which Solomon made answer: "It must surely have been Lot's daughter who thus spoke to her son."[7] The origin of the story is to be found in (a) the story of Utpalavarṇā as given in the *Tibetan Tales* and (b) a story in Jain *Pariśiṣṭa-parvan:*

(a) (i) *Tibetan Tales,* No. X. pp. 286 ff.

As Utpalavarṇā's mother entered into illicit intercourse with her husband, she flung her new-born daughter to her husband and left the house. She then joined a caravan proceeding to Mathura and married the leader. The latter returned to Takṣaśīlā and married Utpalavarṇā's daughter. When Utpalavarṇā discovered it, she left the house again and came to Vaisāli and became a courtesan. There she gave birth to a son and asked her maid to expose him. He was adopted by the eastern warder at Vaisāli. Afterwards she gave birth to a daughter who was adopted by the western warder. Subsequently she had to marry the eastern warder's son to whom was also given the western warder's daughter to wife. Utpalavarṇā now bore a son to her new husband. The western warder's daughter was one day sporting with the child when a Brahman came and asked how the boy was related to her. She said: "He is my brother, the son of my brother, my son (i.e., step-son), and my brother-in-law. His father is my father (i.e., step-father), my brother, and now my husband."

7 Rappoport—*Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 127.

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(ii) The Tibetan tale itself has been derived from the *Therī-gāthā* Commentary, pp. 182 ff.

(b) Story in Jain *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (Introduction, and Canto II. ślokas 224-314).

The story of the Courtesan Kuberasenā who married her son Kuberadatta. Kuberasenā gave birth to twins Kuberadatta and Kuberadattā. She put them in a box which floated down the Yamuna and reached Sāyaranagara. Two merchants adopted each one of them. They were subsequently married, but before consummation accidentally discovered their true relation. Kuberadatta went to Mathura and was seduced by Kuberasenā to marry her. By him she had a son. Kuberadattā, who had become a nun, went to Mathura, took her abode in her brother's house, and addressed the child: "You are my brother, son, brother-in-law, nephew, uncle, and grandson and child. Your father is my brother, father, grandfather, husband, son and father-in-law. Your mother is my mother, grandmother, my brother's wife, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law, and husband's second wife."

Jacobi cites in the footnote the following references—story of Oidipus and the mediaeval legend of Gregorious and the 17th story of Erotica of Parthenius, De Periande Matre.

C. *The Queen asked Solomon: "Distinguish between the males and females."*

In the Tibetan Tale (no. VIII) Mahausadha was asked to distinguish between the male and the female serpent. Visākhā showed him how to do it.

4. King Solomon and his Daughter[8]

King Solomon had a daughter of peerless beauty named Kaziah. Once he read in the stars that she would marry a poor and destitute lad of the children of Israel. Greatly grieved at this, Solomon made up his mind to prevent the occurrence of such an event, and in order to do so he sent his daughter away from Jerusalem.

She was placed in a high tower in a distant island out in the sea. Strict secrecy was maintained, the place was thoroughly secluded and secure-

8 Rappoport—*Op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 109-11.

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ly guarded, and none could penetrate into the tower. The husband of the princess was a poor lad named Reuben from Akko. Journeying on one cold dark night he took shelter in the torn carcass of an ox which was carried by an enormous bird to the top of the tower. The boy and the girl met and later on plighted their troth.

The confinement of the girl in the tower to prevent the marriage has its parallel in the Ghaṭa-Jātaka (no. 454) which may be its source. Therein we read that it was told by the soothsayers that a son born of Devagabbhā would destroy the line of her brother Kaṃsa. (*Tassā jātadivase nemittika-brāhmaṇā "etissā kucchiyaṃ nibbattaputto Kaṃsabhogaṃ Kaṃsavaṃsaṃ nāsissatīti vyākariṃsu*). So she was kept confined in a single round tower (*ekathūṇakaṃ pāsādaṃ*), where she was watched by Nandagopā and her husband Andhakaveṇhu. Upasāgara, her destined husband, however, contrived to meet her there. Cf. also *PVA* II 6 (p. 93) and II 9 (p. 111).

Another story is told in the *Dhammapada-atthakathā* (*Dhpd.* XXVI. 33) where the daughter of a banker is guarded in a seven-storied palace (*sattabhūmakapāsāda*). Now a Vidyādhara flying through the air alighted on the palace and lived with her and as a consequence she conceived. (*Sā tena saddhiṃ saṃvāsaṃ anvāya na cirass'eva gabbhaṃ paṭilabhi. Atha naṃ sā dāsī disvā "Amma kim idan" ti vatvā hotu mā kassaci ācikkhi"*... When after ten months she was delivered of a son he put him in a new vessel, covered it over by means of flower garlands, and asked the maid-servant to consign it to the Ganges. The boy was saved. This incident is the fore-runner of the story how Moses was exposed in an ark of bul-rushes on the water of the Nile[9] and was saved by Thermutis, the daughter of the Pharaoh.

The incident of Reuben being carried by an enormous bird to the roof of the tower where Kaziah was confined has its parallel in the story of Udena (which has many versions). It is related in the *Dhammapada aṭṭha-kathā* that "a monster bird with a bill as big as an elephant's trunk came soaring through the air. Seeing the queen (of Parantapa and Udena's mother) and mistaking her for a piece of meat, he spread his wings and swooped down. The bird pounced upon her, caught her up in his talons and soared away with her into the air.....

(This is probably the origin of the stories of roc bird in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*).

9 Rappoport—*Op. cit.*, vol. II, ch. XVII.

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There are other incidents in the Solomon stories which can be traced to Indian sources (e.g., *K.S.S.*, *Śuka-saptati* etc.).

5. The Dethroned King

With regard to the Dethroned King legend of Solomon which spread widely in Europe, Rappoport remarks:—"Now the legends told respectively in the *Gesta Romanorum* and in the above-mentioned mediaeval poems are based upon the tale of Solomon as told in the Talmudic legend and particularly upon the version given in *Jerushalmi Talmud*. It has been pointed out that the Jews themselves had been influenced by the literature of India. "Legends told of Vikramāditya" wrote Benfey, "have been applied to Solomon....." This theory of Benfey has been adopted by Varnhagen. According to this author, India was the cradle of all the imaginative tales, of myths and legends which delighted the mediaeval ages and have been handed down to modern times."[10]

6. David and Ishbi Benob

The story of David and Ishbi Benob resembles one in the Rāmāyaṇa. Satan took the form of a deer and enticed away David (while hunting) into the land of the enemy. Ishbi Benob (brother of the giant Goliath whom David had killed) seized and imprisoned him. Abishai, a servant of David, while washing his head, saw drops of blood in the water and heard the moaning plaint of a dove (the symbol of the people of Israel) and concluded that these portents indicated that the king was in danger. He went to rescue the king. The earth flew under him (a miracle) and he arrived quickly in front of Ishbi's house. Here he met Ishbi's mother, Orpah, who flung a spindle at him with intent to kill him. Abishai flung back the spindle which killed Orpah. Ishbi hurled up David in the air, and held his lance up with intent to transfix him as he would fall through the air. Abishai quickly uttered the Ineffable name of God, which had the effect of arresting David in his fall and keeping him suspended between Heaven and Earth.

(Cf. the famous story of Triśaṅku and the suspension in the air of sacrificial victims in Janamejaya's *sarpa-yajña*—undoubted source of the Israel story).

10 Rappoport—*Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 148.

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Rappoport cites the story of demon Mārīca assuming the disguise of a golden deer whom Rāma pursued at Sītā's request. The situation is different but there is the common element of the deer enticing the hunter and leading him into danger. "Are we entitled to conclude that the Talmudical legend is of Indian origin and the Rabbis of the Talmud had received the story from Persian sources?"[11] asks he.

Commenting on the motif of the water changing into blood as a sign of danger, Rappoport observes: "This motive is found not only in Egyptian legend of the 14th century B.C., but also in a Serbian tale; in the famous mediaeval French novel *Histoire d'Olivier de Castille et d' Artus d'Algarbe* where the water as a sign of danger turns black; in a Russian popular tale, and in many other European folk-tales."[12]

In the *Campeyya-jātaka* (no. 506) Sumanā asks the Nāga King to tell her how she should know (*yena mimittena jāneyyāma*) if any danger befalls him. Then he brings her to the edge of a *maṅgala-pokkharaṇī* (tank) and says: *"Sace maṃ bhadde koci paharitvā kilamessati imissā pokkharaṇiyā udakam āvilaṃ bhavissati ... sace ahiguṇṭiko gaṇhissati udakaṃ lohitavaṇṇaṃ* (the water will turn blood-red) *bhavissatī" ti...* Such motifs are plentiful in the folklore of India, ancient, or mediaeval.

7. The Story of the Fox and the Weasel[13]

The angel of death was commanded by the Lord of the Universe to throw into the sea a pair, male and female, from every species of creatures. The fox showing the angel his reflection on the sea cheated him and escaped. His friend the Weasel followed his example of cunning. Now Leviathan, the king of all creatures in the sea, not finding them there asked the fishes to entice the fox into the water and fetch him before him. The flattering message of the fishes that the dying king Leviathan, hearing of his cunning, wanted to crown the fox and leave him his kingdom, put him off his guard and he sat upon the back of the fishes, and was in mid-sea. Then suspecting foul play the fox asked them to tell the truth. The fishes said, "King Leviathan has said 'I will cut open his body and swallow his heart, and be as wise and cunning as the fox'."

Then the fox said unto the fishes: "Why did you not tell me the truth at once? I would then have taken my heart with me and offered it as a

11 Rappoport—*Op. cit.*, p. 32. 12 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
13 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 160 ff.

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gift to the king.... Such is the custom among us foxes. We leave our hearts behind us in a safe place, and we walk about without any heart. When once we need it, we go home and fetch it....." He prevailed upon the fishes to carry him back, reached the sea-shore and danced for joy."

This story has undoubtedly been taken from the Suṃsumāra-jātaka (no. 208) where the monkey deceived the dolphin and said that he was a fool to have believed that "*amhākaṃ hadayāni ekasmim udumbare olambantīti.*" The story has many versions, e.g. *Mahāvastu* (Senart, vol. II, 246), Markaṭa-jātaka and Chinese version in Beal's *Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha* from Chinese-Sanskrit: Vānara-jāt. (342), *Pañcatantra* iv, 1, Śuka-saptati No. 67, *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (Tawney, vol. II, 84), also further notes given in Andersen's *Pāli Reader*, Pt. I.

Rappoport says: "The story of the fox and the weasel.....which is taken from the *Alphabetum Siracidis* finds a parallel in Yalkut I, §182, and in Berechya Ha-Nakdan's *Fox-fables* no. 105. An exactly similar story is found in Benfey's *Pantshatantra*, and in the Syr. translation of Bickell where it is related of the turtle."[14] This will show how widely the story has spread.

8. Piety of Moses

(a) Moses was faithfully tending the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro in the desert of Midian. An angel appeared to him in the disguise of a white wolf, and asked him to give him a lamb to appease his hunger. Moses marvelled that the beast was endowed with human speech. The wolf replied: "Dost thou wonder that an animal speaketh? One day the Law will be given through thee, and thou wilt thyself relate the story of the golden calf which will open its mouth and speak and the story of the speaking ass of Balaam."

Moses refused to give him a lamb as it belonged to Jethro nor would he leave his post to ask his permission which, however, he ultimately procured.[15]

In Jain stories we have come across the incident of a speaking animal. Jinaprabha Sūri caused a buffalo to speak in human voice and take part in dialectics.

14 Rappoport—*Op. cit.*, vol. I, Intro. pp. XI.

15 *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 260-2.

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(b) Rappoport says, "A similar story.....is told in the *Tuti-Nameh* (translation by G. Rosen, ii, pp. 32-33, also Bin Gorion). Here it is: One day a dove suddenly came flying to Moses imploring his protection from a pursuing hawk, which argued that Moses had no right to deprive him of his rightful prey.

Moses said: "Is it food in general, any food, thou seekest, or just this dove? If it is food thou art after, then I will do my best to give thee satisfaction but if it is this dove thou wishet to devour, then I will not let the bird go." In the end Moses cut from his holy limbs a piece of flesh, equivalent in weight to that of the dove. The hawk said, "I am no hawk at all, but the angel Michael, and the dove thou hast lovingly taken care of is the angel Gabriel."[16]

This is the famous story told in the Sibi-jātaka (no. 499) and its versions in Āryasura's *Jātākamālā;* to be found also in the *Mbh.* The scene is represented on Bharhut Stupa (See Cunningham Plate XLVIII 2), also on Ajanta frescoes. The story has reappeared in folk-tales of many provinces of India.

9. Staying the Sun's Course

In the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (*Sukhasāmaneravatthu,* commy. on Dhp. X. II) we come across a passage where Sakka commands the sun and the moon, "Stop the movement of your cars and stand still" (*Candimasuriyā attano vimānāni gaṇhitvā tiṭṭathā ti āṇāpesi, te pi tathā kariṃsu*). A similar command is found in the *Mbh.* In the Bible the sun was asked to stop his course.

The real nature of the sun and moon was not appreciated and an anthropo-morphic view of them was held. The sun and the moon weep at the death of Moses.[17]

Kalipada Mitra

16 Rappoport— *Op. cit.,* vol. II, pp. 262-63.
17 *Ibid.,* pp. 359-60.

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The besprinkling Ceremony of the Rājasūya and its constitutional Significance*

The central ceremony of the *Rājasūya*, viz. the besprinkling of the sacrificer with the consecration water, takes place immediately after his figuratively mounting the quarters. In this ceremony the sacrificer is sprinkled with holy water by four distinct persons, as the authorities add with priestly pedantry, from as many different kinds of wooden vessels.

In the White Yajus ritual (*Ś.B.*, V. 3. 5. 11-14 and 4.2.2.) these persons are:—

Adhvaryu (or *purohita*), *sva* (king's kinsman or brother), *mitrya-rājanya* (friendly *rājanya*) and *vaiśya*.

In the Black Yajus ritual the persons mentioned are:—

Adhvaryu, Rājanya, Vaiśya and *Janya* (*T.B.* I. 7.8.7).

Adhvaryu, Brahman (or *Kṣatriya*), *Vaiśya* and *Janya mitra* (*Āp. Ś.S.* XVIII. 16. 1-5).

Adhvaryu, Brahman (or *Kṣatriya*), *Vaiśya* and *Janya mitra* (Hir. quoted in Caland, *Āp. Ś.S.* tr., p. 145).

Brahman, Vaiśya, Bhrātṛvya and *Janya mitra* (*Man. Ś.S.* quoted Caland *loc. cit.*).

Brahman, Vaiśya, Bhrātṛvya and *Janya mitra* (*M.S.* IV. 4. 2).

What is the constitutional significance of the above ceremony? According to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, p. 25) "the *Abhiṣecanīya* is two-fold, the first part is the sprinkling of the waters by what may be described as different estates of the realm and the second is the theological anointing on the head by the priest just before the king-elect ascends the throne (*āsandī*)." We are not concerned here with this 'second part except

* ABBREVIATIONS

TS.	=Taittiriya Saṃhitā
MS.	=Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā
ŚB.	=Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
TB.	=Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa
Āp. Ś.S.	=Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
Hir.	=Hiraṇyakeśi Śrauta Sūtra
Man. Ś.S.	=Mānava Śrauta Sūtra
Āp. Ś.S. Tr	=DasŚrautasūtra des Āpastamba, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von W. Caland, Books xvi-xxxi.

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simply to point out that in the White Yajus ritual (*V.S.*, X. 25; *Ś.B.*, V. 4. 4. 27) the ceremony consists in the priest's drawing down the sacrificer's two arms to the dish of curds placed on a tiger-skin with the following formula:—

'I draw you down, the arms of Indra. the doer of mighty deeds.'

In the Black Yajus ritual (Cf. *TS.*, I. 8.15) the ceremony consists in the sacrificer's putting his hands in the clotted curds for the All-Gods with the formula:—

'By the precept of Mitra and Varuṇa, the directors, I yoke thee with the yoking of the sacrifice.'

There is then no question of the priest's anointing the sacrificer on the head in connection with the above ceremoy.

As regards 'the first part' which alone corresponds to the besprinkling ceremony we have described above, Jayaswal first remarks that in the White Yajus texts "the Śūdra is absent and the kinsman seems to be a tautology." He then observes that Janya of the *T.B.* list stands for the Śūdra "in the sense of a man of the hostile tribe as in *Ait. Br.*, VII. 26 and as originally he was." But in the passage last quoted *janyāni* is equated not with the hostile tribes, but with the king's rivals who vie with and hate him (*janyāni sapatnā vai dviṣanto bhrātṛvyā* in the original). Some of these rivals at any rate presumably were of Kṣatriya caste. In the next place Caland (*op. cit.*, p. 145) has shown by a comparison with the parallel texts of *MS.* and *Man. Ś.S.* that *janya mitra* is the complete form of *janya* of the *T.B.* and that it means a friend from a foreign country ('ein Freunde aus der Fremde'). By the same comparison Caland has proved the correct reading of the *Āp. Ś.S.* text to be *janyo mitraṃ* [in place of *janyamitraṃ* and other variants given in Garbe's edition (Bib. Ind. ed. p. 66)].

It thus appears that the relevant texts do not support the case for the Śūdra's participation in the besprinkling ceremony. As regards the part played by the persons actually mentioned, we may first refer to the dogmatic exposition of the texts themselves. To begin with the White Yajus ritual, *Ś.B.*, V. 3.5. 11-14, explaining the result (or the cause) of the besprinkling by the Brahman, one of the King's own and the friendly *rājanya*, states that the sacrificer is thereby sprinkled (endowed) successively with priestly dignity, with sustenance and with support. As for the Black Yajus ritual *MS.*, IV. 4.2 declares the consequence of the ceremony to be that the sacrificer is endowed by the Brahman with priestly dignity, he acquires strength from

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the people, he wins vigour as well as food and the like from the rival, and he gains through the *janya* a friend. According to *T.B.*, (I. 7.8.7) the Brahman endows him with priestly dignity, the *Rājanya* with vigour and food, the Vaiśya with abundance and the *Janya* is the means of gaining him friends. Equating the King's 'own man' and the friendly *Rājanya* of the *ŚB.* with the *Rājanya—Kṣatriya—Bhrātṛvya* and with the *Janya mitra* of other texts respectively and allowing for the occurrence of the *Adhvaryu* (or *Brahman*) priest in all lists, we may estimate the significance of the besprinkling ceremony in the following way. In so far as the *Adhvaryu* and the *Rājanya* (or their equivalents) as well as the *Vaiśya* are concerned, they involve the participation of representatives of the three higher castes in the central ceremony of the Vedic coronation. This marks the closest approach to the principle of representation of Estates that the Vedic State ever attained. On the other hand the participation of the *janya mitra* ('a friend from a foreign country') probably indicates the importance of the foreign ally for the Vedic State, thus anticipating the *suhṛt* of the stock list of seven limbs (*saptāṅga*) of the Arthaśāstra-smṛti polity of later times. We may sum up by saying that the besprinkling ceremony of the Rājasūya represents, not as Jayaswal thinks, the single principle of representation of estates but rather the combination of this principle with that of political alliances of the Vedic State.

U. N. GHOSHAL

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MISCELLANY

A Note on the alleged metrical defect in the Legend-verse on the seal of the Pīpardūlā Copper-plate Inscription

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (XIX, p. 142), Messrs. D. C. Sircar and L. P. Pandeya make the following remark with reference to the legend on the seal of the Pīpardūlā copper-plate inscription of king Narendra of Śarabhapura. "The versifier was morever not skilled enough; he allowed a *Laghuṣaṣṭha* in the foot of the verse and this he could have easily avoided by writing—*jita-kṣiteḥ* instead of—*jitabhuvaḥ*." Further on p. 145 (*Ibid.*) in a foot-note on the text of the legend of the seal, they say "to rectify the metre, one may suggest the emendation—*kṣiteḥ*." The verse originally reads thus;

खड्गधाराजितभुवः शरभात्प्राप्तजन्मनः ।
नृपतेश्श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य शासनं रिपुशासिनः ॥

We propose to show here that the remark about the metrical defect and the suggested emendation—*both* are uncalled for. Firstly, it should be noted that the *Laghu-ṣaṣṭha* in the first foot of the verse does not warrant the conclusion that the author was not skilled enough. The restriction of the *Guru-ṣaṣṭha* for the standard Anuṣṭubh-quarter holds good *only* in the case of even (*Sama*) quarters. As regards the odd (*Viṣama*) quarters, the restriction of the *Guru-ṣaṣṭha* is not strictly enforced and numerous verses can be quoted from standard writers to show that this restriction is not generally observed, e.g.,

Kālidāsa: अनाकृष्टस्य विषयैः.....[रघुवंश I-23]
Bhāravi: युयुत्सुनेव कवचम्.....[किरातार्जुनीय XI-15]
Māgha: मम तावन्मतमिदम्.....[शिशुपालवध II-12]
Bhavabhūti: शोकश्लोमे च हृदयम्.....[उत्तरचरित III-29]

Sircar and Pandeya are not therefore justified in finding fault with the versification of the first foot of the legend-verse. Besides, it should not be forgotten that the verse occurs as a legend on the royal seal, which should have been used in all important royal charters. An unsuccessful handling of the metre of the very legend of royal seal is therefore not likely to be tolerated, if the restriction of the *Guru-ṣaṣṭha* were generally observed.

Secondly, the emendation suggested by Sircar and Pandeya is entirely hopeless and reminds one of a remedy worse than the disease. The

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suggested reading of the verse "*Khaḍga-dhārājita-kṣiteḥ*" can never fit in the verse as the first foot, for as I have shown elsewhere,[1] if the fifth and sixth syllables are *short* and *long* respectively, the seventh syllable must be *long* to allow the odd quarter to become a permissible variety. The suggested reading of the legend is therefore totally wrong, for the seventh syllable "*kṣi*" does not conform to the above rule. For further details and comprehensive treatment of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre—its history and varieties, my two articles published in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. II (1936) and VI (1940) on this subject may be consulted.

S. P. CHATURVEDI

Vikramāditya : President of a Republic

A welcome light has been thrown on the historicity and status of Vikramāditya by the following two extracts from a manuscript of the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa (dated the 5th day of the bright half of Āgrahāyaṇa, 1699 Vikrama Saṃvat, and now in the possession of Pt. Keshava Prasad Mishra, Head of the Department of Hindi, Benares Hindu University):—

(i) आर्ये रसभावविशेषदीक्षागुरोः **विक्रमादित्यसाहसाङ्कस्याभिरूपभूयिष्ठेयं** परिषत्। अस्याश्च कालिदासप्रयुक्तेनाभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलनाम्नानवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभिः (नान्द्यन्ते)

(ii) भवतु तव विडौजाः प्राज्यवृष्टिः प्रजासु
त्वमपि विततयज्ञो वज्रिणं भावयेथाः।
गणशतपरिवर्तैरेवमन्योन्यकृत्यै-
र्नियतमुभयलोकानुग्रहश्लाघनीयैः॥ VII. 34

The first extract proves that the patron of Kālidāsa was a ruler, whose proper name was Vikramāditya and Sāhasāṅka was his title. The second extract shows that he was connected with a gaṇa (a republican state) and probably he was at the head of a confederation of a number of republican states (the number Śata = 100 appears to be a round and exaggerated one).

The tradition of the country associates Vikramāditya with Ujjayinī (the capital of Avanti = western Malwa), with the defeat of the Śakas and with the foundation of an era in B.C. 57. The era started by Vikramāditya is

1 *Nagpur University Journal*, Vol. VI (1940), p. 56.

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essentially a Mālava era. The earliest local era known in Malwa is Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-kāla known from the Mandasor stone inscription.* The existence of the Mālava republic in the first century B.C. in Malwa has been proved by certain coins bearing the legend Mālavagaṇsyaṃ jayaḥ (victory of the Mālava republic).

The Mālavas were originally living in the Punjab at the time of the Indian campaign of Alexander. Weakened by their defeat at the hands of Alexander, supressed by the imperialist Mauryas and further pressed by the Bactrian invasions of India, they, together with some other republican tribes of the Punjab, migrating via eastern Rajputana finally settled in Ākara-Avanti and gave their name to this part of the country later on.

In the first century B.C. the Śakas occupied Seistan and perhaps some part of Sindh. From here they wanted to capture ancient Avanti-rāṣṭram (Malwa including Surāṣṭra). In this attempt they were hurled back by the combined afforts of the republican states in Central India led by the Mālava-gaṇa under the leadership of Vikramāditya. This signal success was celebrated by the foundation of an era, in the beginning known as the Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti and later on as the Vikrama Saṃvat.

R. B. Pandey

Date of Rasakadambakallolinī, a Commentary by Bhagavaddāsa on the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva—Between A.D. 1550 and 1600

Jayadeva, the author of the celebrated *Gītagovinda* flourished "between 1200 and 1300 A.C."[1] He is said to have been a protégé of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, whose Gayā inscription is dated A.D. 1116.[2] Aufrecht[3] records MSS. of numerous commentaries on the *Gītagovinda*. I have not studied the chronology of all these commentaries and hence cannot say anything about them in this paper, which is devoted to the chronology of one of these commentaries viz. the *Rasakadambakallolinī* of Bhagavaddāsa.

* Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 18.

1 P. V. Kane, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, ed. 1923. Intro. p. cxxxiii.

2 Bühler, *Kashmir Report*, p. 64.

3 Vide *CC.*, I, 153; *CC.*, II, 31, 197; *CC.*, III, 33. Vide also *I.O. Cata.*, VII, Nos. 3860-66, 3868-73, A. B. Keith (*I.O. Cata.*) Nos. 7043-6, 8125 etc.

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This commentary is represented by some MSS. recorded by Aufrecht[4] in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. These MSS. are as follows:—

CC., I, 154—"Bh. 25."

CC., II, 31—"Rgb. 345" (=No. 345 of 1884-87—B.O.R. Institute).

CC., III, 33—"IO. 3054,[5] Lz. 435,[6] Peters[7] 5, 343, 344".

Besides the MSS. of Bhagavaddāsa's commentary recorded by Aufrecht, I find a MS. of it recorded by Dr. H. Poleman in his *Census of Indic MSS. in U.S.A. and Canada*.[8] In my *Catalogue of Kāvya MSS.*[9] *at the B.O.R. Institute* (Govt. MSS. Library) I have described all MSS. of the *Gītagovinda* and its commentaries available at this Institute. The MSS. of Bhagavaddāsa's *Rasakadambakallolinī* described by me are:—

(1) *No. 345 of 1884-87;* (2) *No. 77 of A 1879-80* dated *Sam.* 1684 (=A.D. *1628*); (3) *No. 45 of 1871-72;* (4) *No. 343 of 1892-95.*

In the *Catalogue of Adyar MSS.*[10] numerous MSS. of the text of the

4 *CC.*, I, p. 154 and *CC.*, III, 33. A MS. of this commentary has been described by Dr. Eggeling (see *India Office Cata.*, part VII, No. 3871) who observes;—

"Besides its verbal explanations, principally founded on the *Amarakośa* and the *Viśvaprakāśa* the commentary lays particular stress on the art of composition as developed in the poem, illustrating it by the rules laid down in rhetorical works and by specimens of poetical composition chosen from the *Bhāgavata* and other *Purāṇas* as well as from the *Śṛṅgāratilaka*, the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* and similar works."

5 Vide p. 1456 of *Ind. Office Cata.*, VII, 1904—MS. No. 3871, folios 170.

6 Vide p. 130 of Aufrecht's *Cata. of Leipzig MSS.*, 1901, MS. No. 435.

7 These MSS. are identical with Nos. 343 and 344 of 1892-95 in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona.

8 *American Oriental Series*, vol. 12, New Haven, 1938, p. 75, MS. No. 1647—*Gītagovinda* with Bhagavaddāsa's commentary, *Rasakadambakallolinī* folios 154. H. 1579 (Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachussets), MSS. No. 1637 to 1654 recorded here are of *Gitagovinda* and its commentaries by (1) *Bhagavaddāsa* (2) *Vanamālin Bhaṭṭa*, (3) *Śaṅkaramiśra* (Sam. 1815=A.D. 1759) (4) *Kumbhakarṇamahendra* (Sam 1619=A.D. 1563), (5) *Viṭṭhaleśvara* and (6) a Hindi commentary (Sam. 1876=1820 A.D.).

9 Vol. XIII, part I, (B.O.R. Institute, Poona, 1940) pp. 208-257—MS. No. 344 of 1892-95 is of *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's* commentary on the *Gītagovinda* (pp. 233-34). At the end of it a misleading endorsement is made in a small hand as follows:—

"श्रीमद्वृन्दावनेश्वरी...हृदयेनश्रीमद्भगवद्दासेन...विरचितेयं रसकदंबकल्लोलिनी"

10 *Sanskrit MSS.* (Adyar), part II, 1928, page 17—commentaries recorded here are (1) श्रुतिरञ्जिनी by लक्ष्मीधरसूरि (2) श्रुतिरञ्जिनी by लक्ष्मणसूरि, and (3) केरलव्याख्या on 40 ślokas of 1st sarga.

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Gītagovinda and some commentaries[11] thereon are recorded but no MS. of Bhagavaddāsa's commentary is found in this catalogue. The spread of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* to the Deccan is attested by its influence on Bhāskara-Bhaṭ Borīkar, a Mahānubhāva author who flourished between 1275 and 1320 A.D. Prof. V. B. Kolte[12] of Amraoti has already pointed out parallel passages from the *Gītagovinda* and Bhāskarabhaṭṭa's *Śiśupālavadha* composed about *Śaka 1230* (*A.D. 1308*). The spread of the *Gītagovinda* in Gujarat has recently been pointed out by Dr. M. R. Majmudar[13] of Baroda. This influence is vouched by the stone inscription of Śārṅgadeva dated Saṃvat 1348 (A.D. *1291*) in which the invocation verse is taken from the last verse of the 1st canto of the *Gītagovinda*.

References in the *Rasakadambakallolinī* to earlier works and authors are as follows as found by me in *MS. No. 345 of 1884-87* in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute:—

(1) कर्णामृते, 2, (2) भागवते, 3, 18, 35, 36, 37, 63, 132, 150, (3) भरतः 4, 23, 36, 52, 54, 90, 131, (4) अमरः, 18, 10, 12, 16, 17, 22, 24, 29, 30, 34, 38, etc. (5) विश्वः, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 19, 28, 32, 34, 39, 48, (6) दंडी, 9, 59, 95, 110, 114, 119, 131, 147, 172, (7) धरणिः, 13, 103, 107, 116, 130, 143, 144, 150, (8) श्रुतिः, 18, (9) भगवद्गीता, 18, 180, (10) दशरूपके, 26, 77, (11) पाद्मे, 35, (12) हारावली, 39, 52, 67, 70, 76, 129, 146, 155, (13) शृंगारतिलके, 41, 45, 52, 66, 65, 74, 80, 100, 143, etc. (14) संगीतरत्नाकरे, 51, 53, (15) रतिरहस्ये, 52, 56, 112, (16) रत्नमाला, 52, (17) पंचसायके, 53, 54, 116,—(*c.* A.D. 1324—This work was composed by ज्योतिरीश्वर कविशेखर), (18) वात्स्यायनीये, 56, (19) ब्रह्मसंहितायाम् 62, (20) रसार्णवसुधाकरे, 57, 64, 66, 73, 143, 161, (21) काव्यप्रकाशे, 70, 77,

11 Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* has influenced Canarese literature as well. My friend Prof. K. G. Kundangar of the Rajaram College informs me in a private communication dated 6-11-1940 as follows:—

"Aprameya Śāstri of about A.D. 1750 has written a commentary, in Kannaḍa on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* by name *Śṛṅgāraprakāśike*. He hails from Malur (Mysore State). The colophon at its end says:—

"इति श्रीमद्बल्लिवर्धनविमानस्थितारविंदवल्लिकापतेरप्रमेयस्वामिनः पादारविन्दार्चकेन अप्पाजिभट्टारकपुत्रेणाप्रमेयशास्त्रिणा विरचितगीतगोविंदटीकायां शृंगारप्रकाशिकायाम् etc."

Cikka-devarāja (A.D. 1672-1704) the ruling prince of Mysore has written a poem called *Gīta-gopāla* on the lines of the *Gītagovinda*.....From the internal evidence it is suggested that this poem was written by his minister Tirumaleyārya."

12 Vide p. 103 of भास्करभट बोरीकर by V. B. Kolte, Amraoti, 1935.

13 *Jour. of the Bombay University*, (Sept. 1943) vol. XII, (N.S.) part 2, p. 43.

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(22) शाश्वतः 70. (23) रत्नकोषः, 82, 155. (24) रसामृतसिंधौ, 123. (25) विश्वप्रकाशः, 150. (26) वाराहसंहितायाम्, 163. (27) स्वामिचरणैः, 179.

(28) मनोरमाकार, 56—"तदुक्तं वात्स्यायनीये पुरुषायितप्रकरणे स्वजघनमेव दोलायमानं सर्वत्र भ्रामयेदिति प्रेंखोलितमिति तत्र सर्वत्रशब्दो मनोरमाकारेण व्याख्यातः मध्यात्पूर्वपश्चिमभागे दक्षिणोत्तरभागे चेति"[14]

(29) रसरत्नदीपिका—fol. 41 "भावयन्ति विशेषेण ये रसान् वै मनोहरान् ।
ते विभावास्तु कथ्यन्ते नाट्यशास्त्रविशारदैः ॥"

All the foregoing references are found in the other MSS. of this commentary at the B.O.R. Institute viz. No. 77 of A 1879-80 which is dated A.D. 1628. The following extract containing a reference to Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa of Mewar (A.D. 1433-1469)[15] is found in MS. No. 77 of A 1879-80 but is not found in MS.[16] No. 345 of 1884-87, which appears to be a late copy though it is undated:—

Folio 50a—"इति श्रीगीतगोव्यंदे सप्तदशप्रबंधः ॥

श्लोकः कुंभकरणे[17] उक्तः —

सदानन्दसंदोहकंदं मुकुंदं नमस्कृत्य पद्मांकविद्युत्पयोदं ।
नृपः कुंभकर्णो विधत्ते विचित्तं वरं गीतगोव्यंदधातु विचित्तं ॥१॥

श्रीकृष्ण तवास्मि । सुरतनाथ तवास्मि । तवेदमिति"

14 In MS. *No. 77 of A 1879-80* of the *Rasakadambakallolini* this extract reads as follows:—

"तदुक्तं वात्स्यायनीये ॥ पुरुषायितप्रकरणे । स्वजघनमेव दोलायमानं सर्वत्र भ्रामयेदिति । प्रेंखोलितं तु विज्ञेयं रसिकैः सर्वदा जनैरिति तत्र सर्वशब्दो मनोरमाकारेण व्याख्यातः । मध्यात्पूर्वपश्चिमभागे दक्षिणोत्तरभागे चेति"

This MS. in which the reference to मनोरमाकार is found is dated Samvat 1684= A.D. 1628. It was copied by मेथजी, son of वासुदेव at मल्लपुर while महाराजाधिराज रारुल श्रीउदयकर्ण was ruling (vide also *folio* 53 of MS. *No. 343 of 1892-95* and *folio 68* of MS. *No. 45 of 1871-72* where the above reference to मनोरमाकार will be found).

15 G. S. Gahlot, *History of Rajputana*, vol. I, p. 207, Jodhpur, 1937.

16 Vide folio 133a of MS. No. 345 of 1884-87 where the extract ought to have been between "पीडयावशोकमित्यर्थः" and "तवेदमिति" (in line 6 from the top of the folio).

17 Perhaps the correct reading ought to have been "कुंभकरणेन (कुंभकर्णेन)" as Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa wrote a commentary on the *Gitagovinda*. Vide p. 75 of H. Poleman's *Indic MSS. in U.S.A.*, where MS. No. 1152 of this comm. called

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If the above extract found in a MS. of A.D. 1628 is a genuine part of the *Rasakadambakallolinī* of Bhagavaddāsa we may safely infer that this commentary was composed beween A.D. 1469 and A.D. 1628.

In the list of references recorded above there is a reference to a work called रसामृतसिन्धु[18] (vide folio 123 of MS. No. 345 of 1884-87 and folio 18 of MS. No. 77 of A 1879-80). This work appears to be identical with the भगवद्भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु composed by Sanātana Gosvāmī in A.D. 1542. If this identification is correct the date of Bhagavaddāsa is narrowed down between A.D. 1542 and 1628. These limits may be further narrowed down between say A.D. 1575 and 1620 or so if we can identify the मनोरमाकार mentioned by our commentator with Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita,[20] the author of प्रौढमनोरमा[21] a commentary on the *Prakriyāprakāśa* of his guru Śeṣakṛṣṇa. If Bhagavaddāsa's reference to मनोरमाकार in a MS. of A.D. 1628 turns out to be a genuine reference to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita the author of प्रौढमनोरमा, it supports my limits for Bhaṭṭoji's date viz. A.D. 1560-1620. In my paper on Bhaṭṭoji's date referred to above I have noted that A.D. 1633 is the earliest date of a MS. of Bhaṭṭoji's *Śabdakaustubha* (R.A.S. Bengal). Since this paper was published I have traced a MS[22] of an abridge-

रसिकप्रिया dated A.D. 1563 (Saṃ., 1619) is recorded. Another reference to *Kumbhakarṇa* is found on folio 3a of MS. No. 77 A 1879-80.—

"त्वयैवायं गृहिणोमान स्यात् इति सख्यागूढं परिसितमिति कुंभकर्णोक्तेः (Vide folio 7 of MS. No. 45 of 1871-72).

18 Vide Aufrecht, *CC.*, I. 19 *Ibid.*, *CC.*, I.

20 Vide my paper on "A New Approach to the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita" in *Annals* (Tirupati), vol. I, part 2, pp. 117-127, where I have tried to prove that Bhaṭṭoji flourished between *c.* 1560 and 1620 A.D.

21 This is a commentary on the *Prakriyāprakāśa* of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, a guru of Bhaṭṭoji. Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja did not like Bhaṭṭoji's criticism of his guru's work in the मनोरमा and hence he wrote a refutation of मनोरमा in a work called मनोरमाकुचमर्दिनी.

22 Vide H. Poleman: *Indic MSS.* in *U.S.A.*, (1938), p. 130—MS. *No.* 2635 of *Laghusiddhāntakaumudi* by Varadarāja, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, dated Saṃvat 1680=A.D. 1624. We must necessarily presume some intervals of time between—

(1) the composition of *Siddhāntakaumudi* by Bhaṭṭoji
(2) its abridgement by Varadarāja in the form of the *Laghu° Kaumudi*
and (3) the copying of this abridgement in A.D. 1624. I may also note here the references to मनोरमाकार :—

(1) A.D. 1628—MS. of रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी refers to मनोरमाकार

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ment of Bhaṭṭoji's *Siddhāntakaumudī* dated A.D. 1624. Now we find मनोरमाकार (=Bhaṭṭoji) referred to in a MS. of A.D. 1628. The cumulative effect of all these dates viz. A.D. 1624, 1628, and 1633 strengthens my inference that Bhaṭṭoji's literary career ended by A.D. 1620.

Leaving aside the reference to मनोरमाकार made by Bhagavaddāsa in his Rasakadambakallolinī let us examine some other references which may enable us to fix the earlier limit to his date. Our commentator mentions several times a work on alamkāra called the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* (vide No. 20 in the list of references given above). This work was composed about A.D. 1330 or A.D. 1350 according to scholars[23] by Śingabhūpāla. This reference enables us to fix about A.D. 1400 as one sure limit to the date of the *Rasakadambakallolinī*. This limit is further strengthened by another reference made by this commentary to a work on erotics called the *Pañcasāyaka*[24] which was composed by Jyotirīśvara about A.D. 1324 and which is referred to by our author several times (vide No. 17 in the list of references). Other references to earlier works like the संगीतरत्नाकर of the 13th century need not be considered as they don't help us to improve our chronology of this author. It would thus be seen that the date of Bhagavaddāsa surely lies between A.D. 1400 and 1600 and if the references to the रसामृतसिन्धु and the मनोरमा turn out to be genuine references to the भगवद्भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु composed in A.D. 1542 and to the प्रौढमनोरमा composed before A.D. 1600 or so by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita we shall be in a position to infer that Bhagavaddāsa composed the *Rasakadambakallolinī* say between A.D. 1600 and 1628, the date of the B.O.R.I. MS. of this commentary.

As regards the personal details of our commentator no information except the name of the author and the title of the commentary has been

(2) Bhaṭṭoji's son भानुजिदीक्षित refers to मनोरमा on p. 14 of his commentary on अमरकोश (N. S. Press, 1905)—

"कारग्रहणान्न इति मनोरमायाम् उणादौ दीक्षिताः"

(3) A.D. 1652—B.O.R.I., MS. of प्रौढमनोरमा (No. 331 of 1895-1902).

23 Vide pp. 242-43 of *History of Sanskrit Poetics* vol. I. (1923) by Dr. S. K. De. Prof. P. V. Kane assigns it to about A.D. 1350 (vide p. clxxii of his *Intro* to *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 1923).

24 Vide p. 650 of *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* by Krishnamachariar, 1937.

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recorded by him as will be seen from the following extract at the end of the commentary:—

"प्रफुल्लभगवज्जनं **रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी**
प्रफुल्लयतु मोहने भजनतानसंवर्द्धिनी ।
समस्तपटुचातुरीवलितगीतगोव्यंदतः[25]
प्रशस्तरसदीपिका मधुरपुंजमंजूषिका ॥२॥

गीतगोव्यंदत[26] इति षष्ठ्यंतं पदं । सार्वविभक्तिकस्तस् इत्यभिधानात् ॥ ॥ श्रीवृंदावनेश्वर प्रियकृच्चरणपंकेरुहमकरंदास्वादनपटुचंचरीकसंभाषणमध्वानंदादोलनचपलहृदयेन श्रीमद्भगवद्दासेन भगवज्जनपरितोषाय विरचितेयं **रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी** श्रीमदसवेदिभिर्भगवत्प्रियैः आनंदसंदोह-संदीपितपरमोज्वलरसावगाहितमनसा अहर्निशविचारणीया ॥ ६ ॥ इति श्रीगीतगोव्यंदस्य **रसकदम्बकल्लोलिनी** टीकेयं समाप्ता ॥"[27]

Aufrecht records only one namesake[28] of our commentator and his works, which are commentaries in Hindī on Sanskrit works. I have not examined the question of the identity or otherwise of the author of the *Rasakadambakallolinī* with this Hindī commentator.

P. K. Gode

25 MS. No. 345 of 1884-87 reads "वपित गीतगोविंदतः"

26 *Ibid.*, गोविंदतः for गोव्यंदतः

27 I have copied this extract from MS. No. 77 of A 1879-80.

28 Vide *CC.*, II, 89—"भगवद्दास In Rgb. 652 he is called a pupil of Dāmodara: (1) अष्टादशरहस्यटीका (2) ईश्वरतत्त्वनिरूपणटीका
CC., II, 7—"अष्टादशरहस्यानि by Rāmānuja Comm. by भगवद्दास Rgb. 651".
CC., II, 11—"ईश्वरतत्त्वनिरूपण (रामानुजमत) by वरदनायकसूरि" Rgb. 652—Comm. by **भगवद्दास** Rgb. 652".
MS. Rgb. 652 and 651 are identical with MSS. No. 652 of 1884-87 and No. 651 of 1884-87 in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, MS. No. 651 is dated Samvat 1757=A.D. 1701. In the colophons of both the MSS. the author is called a pupil of दामो. The colophon of MS. No 651 reads as follows:—
"श्रीप्रतिवादिभयंकराचार्यके विधारथी श्रीखामीकूवाजीके पोताशिष्य श्रीखामी दामोदरजीके शिष्य गुसाई भगवानदास ॥ ए अष्टादशरहस्य नामग्रंथ उपरि । वृजकी भाषामाही । रहस्य प्रकाशनाम ग्रंथ कीयो है ॥६॥ संवत् १७५७ वर्षे आसाढ सुदि गुरुवासर" etc.
Vide p. 23 of *Report, Hindi MSS.*, 1914—where we find mentioned one भागवतदास author of भागवतचरित्र (over 10,000 ślokas). No date of this author is known.

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A Letter of the Council in Calcutta to Marquis de Bussy, 1784

Since the forties of the 18th century, the political destiny of India came to be considerably influenced by the international complications among the European powers. Voltaire aptly observed: "the first cannon shot fired in our lands was to set the match to all the batteries in America and in Asia". The War of Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, had their repercussions on contemporary Indian politics. As a matter of fact, India, then internally bankrupt in all respects and coveted as respective spheres of influence by the rival European nations like the English, the French and the Dutch, became one of the theatres of their hostilities.

For some time I have been engaged in the preparation of a thesis on Anglo-Dutch relations in India during the 18th century, for which I have been able to secure plenty of valuable materials from certain records of the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, including the letter which has been studied in this paper.

In the autumn of 1780 the United Netherlands joined the league against England in the course of the American War of Independence.[1] This led England to declare war against Holland and to capture her settlements, even in India.[2] The Dutch settlements of Chinsura, Baranagore, Cassimbazar, Kalkapur and Patna in Bengal and Bihar,[3] and Madras, Pulicat and Negapatam in Southern India, were seized by the English by the end of the year 1781.[4] Trincomali (Trincomalai) and Fort Ostenburgh (? or Olenburg), belonging to them on the island of Ceylon, were captured by the British fleet under the command of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes on the 6th January, 1782,[5] "together with a very large property in military stores

* Read at the Hyderabad Session of the Indian History Congress.

1 C. Grant Robertson, *England under the Hanoverians*, p. 279.

2 *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 7th March, 1782.

3 *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William*, 3rd to 21st July, 1781.

4 Fullarton, *A View of the English Interests in India*, p. 20; Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, vol. II, pp. 263-64. Mill, *History of British India*, vol. IV, pp. 221-25.

5 We read in the works of Fullarton and Thornton that the Dutch possessions in Ceylon were captured by the English by the end of 1781. But Mill writes that these were "taken by storm" on the 11th January, 1782 (*op. cit*, vol. IV, p. 225).

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and goods, also 150,000 dollars in specie and two India men, ready for Europe."[6]

But the English were not destined to retain Trincomali long in their hands. England had been engaged in war with France also since March 1778.[7] A French force having joined Hyder Ali, the English lost Cuddalore and Permacoil in April 1782.[8] Sir Edward Hughes was encountered by a French fleet under Mons. Suffrein, "one of the best naval commanders whom France had ever produced,"[9] and Trincomali surrendered to the latter on the last day of August 1782.[10] Further efforts of Sir Edward Hughes to get back that place proved to be of no avail.[11]

But in the next year, the treaty of Versailles closed the war which the European powers had been fighting. A treaty of peace and friendship between England and France was signed at Versailles on the 3rd September, 1783, which was soon followed by a peace between England and Holland. These provided for the mutual restitution of conquests by the English, the French and the Dutch.

It is clear, however, from certain records that the mutual restoration of conquered territories in India was not effected immediately after the news of the pacification in Europe had reached here. The Dutch governments at Colombo and Batavia complained to the Council in Calcutta against this delay, caused particularly by differences of opinion between the Madras Government, and the representatives of the French in India about the cession of Trincomali to the Dutch. Mr. Hastings observed in his Minute, dated the 16th November, 1784:

"..... That, as by the scrupulous Adherence of the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George to the Letter of the Treaties concluded by Great Britain with France and Holland, both the Letter and spirit of those Treaties have

It is clear from a reference in *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William,* 28th February, 1782, that these were actually captured on the 6th January, 1782. Mr. Alexr. Rea (*Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in the Presidency of Madras,* p. 30) writes that Trincomali was captured by the English in 1782; but he wrongly asserts that it was "restored to the Dutch the following year."

6 *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William,* 28th February, 1782.

7 *Proceedings, Secret Dept., Fort William,* 13th July, 1778.

8 Thornton, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p 267; Mill, *op. cit*, vol. IV, pp. 246-47.

9 Mill, *op. cit.,* vol. IV, p. 242.

10 *Ibid.,* p. 253.

11 *Letter of Sir Edward Hughes to Lord Macartney,* dated 8th September, 1782; *Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William,* 23rd September, 1782.

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been defeated and have been suffered by the President and Select Committee to remain unaccomplished to a long and indefinite period. As our Nation acquires no Advantage whatsoever by the Delay; but the French retain possession of every conquest made by them from us, together with the real and substantial possession of Pondicherry and the absolute possession of Trincomale. As the Dutch complain, and have a just plea to complain, that the suspension, which is in effect a direct violation of the Treaty concluded with their nation, is imputable solely to our Perseverence in demanding what the Marquis de Bussy, the Representative of the French Crown, has no authority to yield and is commanded not to yield. As the point on which the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George have with much vehemence and firmness of Perseverence insisted, is only to be put in possession of the fort and territory of Trincomale, previously to its cession to the Dutch, and for the purpose of enabling them to make the cession. As the only reason for insisting on this point is founded on the Right of the Dutch to actual possession, which if left to the discretion of the Government of France, might be frustrated. As the Dutch have themselves waived their claim to this attention on our part to their Rights and desire to receive possession immediately from the French agents. As the Treaties themselves stipulate that all the cessions shall be made in the same epoch, which expression whether it be construed period or Point of time, equally entitles Dutch Company to immediate possession..... As the adherence of the Representatives of our Nation to the claim of being put in possession of Trincomale, no Treaty in term requiring it, may furnish, if not a suspicion, at least a Pretext to alledge it, of an Intention on our part to keep possession after it shall be obtained, and may thereby furnish a just Agreement for the French to withhold it entirely. As it can not fail to impress the Natives of India with a false opinion of the Decline of the British Power, to see the French, its great rival, after the close up of a desperate war, retain all the conquests made on our Nation, with all but former possession, which in effect is none, of those, which had been made by us on them. And finally, as the Faith and Honour of our Nation, which have been rendered liable to imputation by this unprofitable contention, have been now made to depend for their Preservation on this Government by the References made to it. The Governor General recommends in the spirit of the propositions referred to him that a letter be immediately written to the Marquis de Bussy, both requiring him in terms of his instructions to deliver up the Fort of Trincomale and its dependencies to the Representatives of the Dutch Government of Colombo; and empowering him to constitute such Agents as he may think proper to perform so much of this process as may be construed to apper-

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tain formally to the representatives of our Nation; and at the same time to require him to deliver over the Fort, Town and Districts of Cuddalore to such Agents as shall be deputed for that purpose to receive the same from the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George ....."[12]

The Governor General's Minute received the approval of the other members of the Council in Calcutta, and on the 23rd November, 1784, the following letter was written to Marquis de Bussy, Commander-in-Chief of the French Forces in India by Sea and Land:—

"We receive with satisfaction the kind testimony which your Excellency has afforded of the Treatment received by the French Prisoners from our Government. Our concern indeed for the comfort and happiness of the French within these provinces has not ceased with the conclusion of the War; It yet continues, and we have the pleasure to assure ourselves from the sentiments which your Excellency has expressed, and the Humanity with which your Excellency's character is so honorably marked, that your attention to the Prisoners of our Nation would not have been less deserving of our applause had the situation of the two Governments been reversed.

Having done ourselves the Honor to reply to your Excellency's Letter of the 10th Septr. our next wish is to draw your attention to a subject which has been brought recently, and in a particular manner before us by appeals from the Dutch Governments of Batavia and Colombo, and is of interesting importance to your Nation and to our own as well as to the States of Holland.

We have perused and given due consideration to the correspondence that has passed between your Excellency and the Right Hon'ble Lord Macartney and the Select Committee of Fort St. George as low down as the 9th of last July (to which period only it has been yet transmitted to us) concerning the execution of the stipulations agreed upon in the late definitive Treaty between His Britannic and Most Christian Majesty, as far as the same respects the Restitutions to be respectively made by the Representatives of the two Crowns in India, and we have observed that, in consequence of some differences relative to the cession of Trincomale and orders received by your Excellency on this subject, an end was put to the Negociations of the Commissioners appointed on the part of your Excellency, and on the part of Fort St. George, and the question referred to Europe for a final decision on it.

We are persuaded that had your Excellency known that the powers possessed by this Government gave it a control over the Acts & Proceedings of the other

12 *Foreign Dept., Proceedings*, 23rd November, 1784. (Imperial Record Department).

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Presidencies of the East India Company your Excellency would have represented to us any subjects of Difference that impeded the execution of the Definite Treaty instead of referring the same to Europe, Possessing those Powers we wish even at this Time to meet the Desire which we are sure your Excellency possesses to carry into effect the stipulations of the Treaty if the same can be done under the orders which you have received from France, and without waiting for the Replies to your last Dispatches.

To remove therefore, all difficulties and to obviate all Misconceptions with respect to the intentions of the two Crowns in as far as the same respect the Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between His Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King signed at Versailles on the 3rd September, 1783 and the Peace subsequently concluded between His Britannic Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, we have the Honor to make the following Propositions to your Excellency for immediate Effect.

1st. We propose that in conformity to the Instructions which you received by the French Frigate Precience from the Mareschal de Castries & which you have been pleased to state to the Presidency of Fort St. George, you do immediately deliver up the Fort of Trincomale and its Dependencies to the Representatives of the Dutch Government of Columbo.

2ndly. We propose that whatever Commissaries or Agents you may be pleased to appoint to deliver over Trincomale to the Dutch may be likewise considered as executing that Office on the Part of the British Nation, and we hereby declare them to be fully authorized for that purpose.

3rdly. That you deliver over the Fort, Town and Districts of Cuddalore to such Agents as the Right Hon'ble the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George shall depute to receive the same, and that you receive from them their formal cession of Pondicherry.

If these Propositions should be acceptable to your Excellency, and you should agree to carry them into Effect, we request that you will send the necessary information thereof to the Right Hon'ble the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George who are informed of them and directed in conformity to them, to depute Agents from that Presidency to receive the Fort, Town, and Districts of Cuddalore, and to make a formal cession of Pondicherry and the other Places and Districts which are by Treaty to be put into the possession of your Nation, and which are to be assigned over by the Nabob Walau Jah and the Rajah of Tanjore.

We have directed the President and Select Committee of Bombay to carry the Definitive Treaty into effect on the Western Coast on receiving advices from Fort

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St. George that it has been accomplished on that of Coromandel, and we have the Honor to assure you that we on receiving similar advices shall not allow the least delay in making Restitutions that are to be made in these Provinces; Commissaries will of course be appointed on the part of the French Nation to receive them.

We have addressed the Governor General and Council of Batavia and the Governor and Council of Columbo with information of these propositions, and do ourselves the Honor to enclose copies of our letters for your Excellency's Perusal.

The Propositions are so plain that we trust no question can arise in respect to their intent, since the only object is to remove by an abbreviated process the difficulties which have hitherto precluded the execution of the Treaties by dispensing with the unnecessary Form of your delivery of Trincomale to the Representatives of our Nation, for the sole purpose of enabling the latter to make the like cession, which ought to be done at the same instant of time, to the Representatives of the Dutch, a species of accuracy not only useless in itself, but obstructive of every substantial purpose of the Treaties concluded for the three National Establishments in India; but if any questions of doubt should occur, upon this subject we request that your Excellency's correspondence on such subjects may be immediately with this government.

Your Excellency will pardon us for observing that after so explicit a Declaration of our sentiments, and after so incontestible a demonstration of our readiness to carry into immediate execution, on the part of our Sovereign and Nation, as well as the English East India Company, the stipulations of the late Treaties of Peace, no Blame can be henceforward attributed to the English for any delay in completing the wishes and solemn arrangements of our respective sovereigns and Nations. We wish to believe, indeed we are persuaded, that as you alone possess the means of carrying into instant effect this great and salutary work, no unnecessary delay will attend its complete accomplishment and we hope that you will be further pleased to transmit accounts of the final and happy accommodation of all embarrassments on this important subject by the earliest conveyance to Europe."

K. K. Datta

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A Study of Meyer's Trilogy of Hindu Vegetation Powers and Festivals

An extensive anthropological work of substantial importance bearing on Indian morals, manners and sentiments has been delivered by J. J. Meyer the indologist, whose translation of and studies in Kauṭalya and researches into the Hindu law-books and other topics are well known in the world of comparative politics and jurisprudence. The present work is made up of three large monographs separately paged, but stitched together as one volume with a post-script and two indices, one for topics and persons and the other for Sanskrit words. The book comprises some 850 pages of Royal Octavo size.

The common title of this work is *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Trilogy of Hindu Vegetation Powers and Festivals). In the sub-title the volume is described as a contribution to comparative religion and cuture-history as well as to the comparative study of festivals and folk-life.

Part I. is entitled *Kāma* and is given over to the old Indian god of love as the spirit of vegetation and his festival. The following topics are dealt with in this section: Dying or killed and reappearing or resurrected spirits of vegetation; The nature of Kāma; The festival of Kāma in *Ratnāvalī*; The holy powder; Bespattering with the syringe; The women's festival of Kāma in *Ratnāvalī* and Kāma as *aśoka* tree; Kāma as Artemisia plant (known in ancient Greece and Rome as women's friend); Kāma and mango blossoms; The holi lewdness and women; Lewdness in fertility festivals and on diverse occasions in other lands; The activities of the night of fasts in Europe: The origins of the fast night orgies; The efficacy of obscenities in the festivals of Kāma; The power of Phallus and obscene pictures and Christian Phallus-saints; Kāma, Spirit of tree, and Tree as giver of fertility and children; The holi tree as the spirit of vegetation; The magical power of ashes, coal and dust; Abuses and banter in festivals, especially those of fertility; Holi, the day of the death of vegetation deity; The death festival of Kāma among the Buddhists of Ceylon; Holikā, the witch killed and burnt in the *holi* festival; The legend of Holikā in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa;* The festivals of Kāma and holi distinct from each other; The great swing-festival of the god of love; The chariot festival of the spring Sun; The festival of *Bhūtamātar* or Udakasevikā in *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa;* The Bhūtamātar in *Skanda Purāṇa;* The items of spring festival

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(fire movements, fights, festivals, tree-climbing); Pribrity of women in fertility festival; Lamentations and complaints about Kāma in his festival; Holi and the souls of the dead; The *holi* is Aryan; Was the burnt up spirit of vegetation a male or a female and why it is a wild-growing plant? The spirit of vegetation rightly a tree; The cause of the blessing conferred by the bell.

The subject matter of Part II. is Bali. It deals with God Saturn's festival and that of all souls in India. The first source is *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*. Among the texts may be mentioned the *Kārttikamāhātmya* sections of *Skanda Purāṇa* and *Padma Purāṇa*. The contents are as follows: The origin of the festivals of Bali; The different items of the festivals; Mustard oil bath in order to avoid Naraka and purification with the brandishing of a bundle of plants over the head. Offerings to Yama, king of the dead; Light for Naraka; The festival of lamps on the evening of the fourteenth day of Kārttikā; The festivals of Śiva in Kārttika and the bull-offering; Lakṣmī as the goddess of corn; The territory of Bali; Purification of men on the evening of the new moon day; The King's midnight stroll through the city to see the festival; The expulsion of bad luck by women; The sport of luck at the light festival; The rôle of the prostitutes on the morning after the full-moon; Massaging the body with flour; Gifts from the king to the different classes of the subjects on the morning after the new moon; Animal fights, theatrical performances, dances, musical and song competition in the presence of the king; The erection of the *mārgapālī* on the high tree or a tree-like post and its blessings on the cattle and the people; The festival of the bulls; The tug of war in the pulling of a rope; The worship of Bali by the king; The worship of Bali by the ordinary people; Effects of this worship; Etymological explanation of the word *Kaumudī;* The time of the festival; Blessings conferred by the festival on the king and the country; The light for Yama and the second of Yama; Bhīṣma as the spirit of the dead and his five days; The worship of the *Pāpa-puruṣa* (Incarnation of Sin); The season of the light festival; King Bali; Bali and God Saturn.

The festival of Indra is the subject matter of Part III. Indra is described as the old Indian god of the spring Sun and fertility. There is an appendix devoted to Varuṇa as god of growth. The following topics are discussed; Indra in classical Sanskrit and today; The tree of Indra in the *Mahābhārata, Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Devī . Purāṇa,*

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Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa, and *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra;* A Jaina description; The journey to the forest; The origin of the festival; The materials for the Indra tree; The magical meaning of the bees; The worship of the tree and the spirits of the tree; The felling of the tree; The decoration of the Indra tree; The erection of the Indra tree; The double position of the god as Indra tree and Indra; The worship of the Indra tree and the joys of the festival; The height of the Indra tree; The daughters and mother of the Indra tree; The night festivals and the duties of the king and his councillors; The bringing down of the tree and its immersion; The date of the festival; Pongal, the South Indian festival of the Sun and Indra; The festival of Indra in *Harivaṃśa;* Pongal of the cattle connected with the festival of the Indra tree; Other festivals of the banner; The Indra tree as a Sun and vegetation tree; Indra as god of the Sun, especially the spring Sun in the *Ṛgveda;* Indra is not the god of storm and rain in Vedic literature; Indra as god of vegetation and fertility.

Investigations in social anthropology are as a rule based on a first hand study of the folk-life in villages, forests, mountains and river-valleys. This is the method of fieldwork. Meyer did not go out of his Swiss home into the nooks and corners of India or of any of the countries described in this book. His authorities are all printed texts. The fundamental basis is the Sanskrit encyclopædias, the *Purāṇas,* in so far as most of these researches are concerned. *Ṛg-Veda* comes in for the third monograph. Travellers' books about India or ethno-anthropological works dealing with the Indian festivals and customs in the field-method way of composition have been requisitioned by Meyer either to illustrate his Sanskrit originals or to supplement them wherever necessary. He has made it a point to furnish as full translations as possible of the chapters in the Sanskrit authorities dealing with the topic in question.

In the present writer's *Folk Element in Hindu Culture A Socio-religious Study in Hindu Folk-Institutions* (London 1917) the method adopted was just the reverse of Meyer's. There the field-study in connection with the April festivals (*Gambhīrā*) of Śiva in the villages of Malda, North Bengal furnished the foundation. This was supplemented by illustrations from and historical references to Bengali and Sanskrit texts. The result, however, is the same. We are led to the conclusion that the so-called culture-lore of India is over-whelmingly dominated by her folk-lore, nay, very often but a euphemism for her folk-lore. The folk-elements, again,

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are profoundly materialistic and secular (as contrasted with metaphysical and other-worldly). Last but not least, the sex-elements constitute a most preponderant feature of the folk-*mores* and folk-institutions.

Meyer's work takes us farther. It brings us into contact with the folk-*mores* and folk-institutions of Asia, Europe, Africa and America. He may be said to have contributed another volume to Thurnwaldt's *Ethnosoziologie*. The agricultural and sexual aspects of the folk-gods and folk-festivals have been proved by him to be too hemispheroidal, too elemental, too human to be described in terms of geographical regions or ethnographic races. Neither the climatic nor the geographical nor the racial "interpretation" of history or culture can call Meyer its own. The parallelisms, identities, analogies between East and West constitute some of the most substantial contributions of Meyer in this voluminous treatise. The result is a piece of research which is well calculated to cry halt to the pruderies and chauvinistic idiosyncracies of Eur-American scholars, who while dealing with Indian themes generally manage to forget, ignore or overlook the mass of superstitions, sex-*motifs* and phallic institutions governing their daily life. On the other hand, Meyer's work is of exceptional value to such Indian scholars, as owing to absence of intimate familiarity with the folk-life of Christian and pre-Christian Occident fail to find in Eur-America the duplicates of certain conventionally objectionable manners and customs of the Indian people and are easily tempted to discover something extraordinarily transcendental, esoteric and divine even in the most unspeakably earthly and muddy crudities of India. For, Meyer discovers the "human, all-too human" here and there and everywhere. This *Trilogie* has turned out to be a study in the superstitions of all mankind organically connected as they are with Mother Earth, vegetation and fertility.

Tamuz and Ishtar of Babylonia, Isis and Osiris of Egypt, Adonis and Astarte (or (Aphrodite) of Syria, western Asia and Greece, Attis and Kybele of Phrygia are the male and female divinities respectively of the ancient world embodying as they do the human hunger for growth. fertility, procreation, rebirth and rejuvenation. In Indra Śiva, Varuṇa, Skanda, Kumāra, Bali and Kāma are to be seen but the Indian counterparts of the extra-Indian gods from Tamuz to Attis (Part I, pp. 2-4).

So far as the author is concerned, this book is declared by himself to be a small thanksgiving to Nature, the plant-world, the cultivators, and

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the Mother Earth who constitutes the central topic of the study. He believes also that in the atmosphere of these investigations he can feel somewhat the spirit of the origins of agriculture and the soul of the people associated with it (III, p. 272).

The reasons are not far to seek. Meyer was farmer for many years of his life, and during this period a very large part was dominated by the ideas of the eleven *Upaniṣads* which he first studied at that time. The actual life of the peasant as lived by himself as well as intimate contact with the literature that had grown in that *milieu*, although in the East, combined to produce in him a sense of profound unison with the plant-world, with forests, with cultivated fields, with rows of maize and with the lights of flowers (II. 271).

This trilogy is for Meyer not therefore a merely anthropological or antiquarian study into the origins of folk-manners and folk-festivals. It is for him virtually a searching analysis of his deepest convictions, the examination, so to say, of his own religious sentiments in the widest sense. The data relate indeed to the three or rather four Hindu gods, Kāma, Bali, Indra and Varuṇa as well as their festivals. And they are collected chiefly from the medieval and rather recent Sanskrit literature. The chapters on Indra are based, however, mainly on the *Ṛg-Veda*. But this indological material has led him away from India into far-off nooks and corners of the world. And he is convinced that not only his own religion, but that every man's and every woman's religion are in the final and honest analysis profoundly rooted in the natural and agricultural rites and ceremonies—the peasant's hopes, fears, ambitions and anxieties, etc. The farmer-complex, which lies in the pre-history or at the bottom of all culture-systems of antiquity and modern times of East and West, has furnished the *Leitmotif*, so he believes, of many of the folk-elements in the religious thoughts and practices of nations.

Meyer's *Trilogie* has dealt at length with the analogies or identities between India and Eur-America, old and new, a topic on which considerable attention was bestowed in several chapters of the present writer's *Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin 1922). The Indian student of Western superstitions will find Meyer exceedingly helpful.

In India the cat is sacred to Mother Ṣaṣṭhī, the goddess of children. In Teutonic Germany the goddesses of fertility and children such as Freya, Frouwa, Berchta etc. have the cat as their pet animal (I. 7).

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While going out on a journey the Hindu considers meeting a public woman as a lucky thing. This folk-belief is prevalent in ancient Greece and Rome, as well as in Germany, England, Sweden and France. On the other hand, in India as in Europe an ascetic or a nun portends bad luck. The priest or the monk stands for the annihilation of fertility and is therefore shunned, says Meyer (I. 8-9).

The spring-festivals generally known in India as *holi* are associated with lewd manners. Parallels are to be found in the obscenities in the women's songs and dances of Egypt in connection with the worship of Isis, Immoralities of the ancient Roman festivals can also be referred to (I. 67). Whether the story is of India or of Africa, America and Europe Meyer objects to the use of the word, "obscene", in the conventional sense in the description of these manners and customs. In his judgment all these alleged obscenities are organic features of a religion which considers fertility, child-production and sex-act as the most sacred things of Nature and Man (I. 67-68).

In his analysis of analogies and parallelisms between East and West in regard to the alleged obscenities he differs from Hopkins who says that "no Western carnival at its worst is as frankly sensual as the spring festival of India". He accepts Wilson's statement as valid according to which the Christian Easter festivals are marked by "an indecency of which even the *holi* players are never guilty" (I. 70). Meyer considers the nakednesses of women in Eve's costume on the occasion of the Christian festivals of Johannis and the shameless behaviour of the Greeks and Romans as much too unspeakable (I. 70-71).

The harvest festivals of Europe, especially of Germany, have been described by Meyer in illustration of his thesis that obscenities and phallic orgies belong to religion in the life of peasants used to the worship of agricultural divinities or saints. The use of pictures and figures of the male organ is referred to as a common phenomenon in Europe. Some of the obscene performances are associated with Churchyards, and persons dressed as priests are said to participate therein. The court of Pope Alexander VI is infamous for sex-acts *en masse*. Thirty ladies and their lovers are seen painted in sex-act *en masse* under the eyes of the holy king Henry III. Meyer observes that in Classical Greece and Rome as in India or old Germany and Christian Europe most of the festivals and ceremonies in which the "conventional" morality is violated are directly or indirectly reli-

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gious in nature and origin. But in many of the medieval and modern obscenities of European social life there is hardly any excuse from the religious side (I. 74).

There is a sixteenth century work in Latin, *Regnum Papisticum*, by Thomas Naogeorgus. It describes among other things the superstitions and activities of the Catholics in connection with the festivals of the year. The orgies of the carnival have demanded the author's special attention. Some of the participants run about in the streets naked (*ein-Teil von ihnen läuft nackt umher*), their faces alone being covered with masks. The men are dressed like women, and the women, specially young girls, like men. Many of them ramble about clothed as monks, some like kings, and others as quadrupeds, as bears, wolves, lions, storks, monkeys and what not. They carry manure, both animal and human (*frischen Menschen Koht*) into market place, attended by somebody who drives the flies away with a fly-brush. Lascivious songs and dances belong to this and other festivities. Wagons of ordure and night soil accompany these processions (I. 77-78)

The male organ was made into a saint. For instance, in a carnival procession in the kingdom of Naples a wooden statue used to be carried which was prominent because of this item. It was called *Santo Membro* (the holy limb or organ). Dulaire's *Divinités génératices* furnishes numerous examples of the phallic figures in Catholic life. Saints Kosmas and Damianus in Osternia, the Child Jesus between Mons and Brussels, St. Foutin etc. are known for their phallic representations. Meyer finds the erotic representations in some of the temples of Hindu India as but spiritually linked up with the sexual representations and symbolisms of Christian art (I. 93-95).

The Hindu custom of offering beans and pulses to ancestors on the occasion of the *śrāddha* ceremony is calculated to pacify the hungry manes. Meyer observes that India is not *sui generis* in this regard. The Greeks, Romans and Iranians as well as the Germans are used to the same custom. In the German communities of the Valsugana Valley in North Italy cooked beans on wooden places were offered to the graves of the relatives or friends on the day of All Souls. They were kept there for several hours and then distributed among the poor (II, 42).

Cow-dung and dirt play no insignificant part in Indian folk-religion. From the European side Meyer quotes popular beliefs from English farmers about the efficacy of such blissful dirt (II. 50).

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The visit of Lakṣmī, the goddess of luck, to the families about midnight on the new moon day in September-October belongs to one of the folk-beliefs of the Hindus. According to Meyer we read of such visits in the legends of countries from India to North Germany (Mucukunda, Nerthus, spring sojourn of Freyer, Emperor Charles etc.). In many places of Hungary a lamp is kept lighted the whole night on Christmas eve in order that Mother Mary can come and bring luck (II, 87). The driving away of evil by women while winnowing the corn has a place in the folk religions of many countries old and new, in East and West (II. 140-141).

In India cultivators are forbidden to plough the ground on the 15th of *Āśvina* and the 15th of *Kārttika* (about the 30th of September and October) as these days are consecrated to the ancestors. In Germany, says Meyer, on the day of All Souls corn is not to be sown (II, 236). The harvest festivals and the festivals of the manes are thus intimately mixed up in India as in Germany. The German dates are September 29 (Michaelis Day) and November 11 (Martin Day). On the evening of St. Martin's Day, thousands of little lamps are lighted on the mountains and high lands on both banks of the Rhine between Cologne and Coblenz. The Siebengebirge becomes especially prominent on account of the numerous lights and fire-festivals. St. Martin is the protector of cattle, shepherds, corn, fruits, wine etc.

An important item in the festival of Indra is the procession or march into the forest in order to select and fell the tree. In this connection Meyer draws our attention to the several sun and growth festivals of Europe. The tree that is used on these occasions is generally known as the May pole. The carrying away of the May tree from the woods is an exciting ceremony or incident with the young people. We are told that young girls who join the crowds on such May festivities in Europe go out as virgins but do not come back as such (III, 62).

Among the many trees forbidden for the purpose of the Indra festival is the one on which bees have sat or made their hives. The magical evils associates with bees, for instance, in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (43, 63; 59. 3; 79, 3; 95, 58) have their analogies in European and specially German mentality. The *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Dictionary of German Superstition) is quoted by Meyer to show that according to German folk-belief a beehive hanging on a tree belonging to one's own lands is an evil omen, on a garden-tree brings death in the family, and on a house is likely to cause an outbreak of fire. The appearance of bees in soldiers' camps por-

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tends defeat as known from their association with Drusus in ancient Rome and Count Leopold of Austria. To dream of bees is to court death or disaster.

The association of bees with death and funeral ceremonies is one of the folk-elements in primitive Indo-German culture (III, 78). Another aspect of bees is their association with fertility, pregnancy and so forth. In ancient Greece the bee is the symbol of Artemis, the spirit of fertility. The priests of Artemis as well as those of Demeter, the spirit of corn, are called bees. The bees are protected in Greek mythology by Pan and Priapus, the spirits of fertility. In German folk-belief, if a woman eats a bee, she will become pregnant.

According to Meyer the rôle of bees as ancestors is not so prominent in the folk-elements of Indian culture as in those of German. But in India the conception of bees as portents is very powerful (III, 82). The friendly aspects of bees were unknown in India, Greece and Rome because in all these countries the bees remained always wild. There was no "bee-culture" as in Germany. The bees as animals of forests were feared and their approach to human habitations dreaded as omens. The trees on which they sat were therefore declared unfit for use in regard to the construction not only of the Indra tree but also of statues for gods, stools, bed-steads, temples, and houses.

In Germany the felling of the tree on similar occasions is attended with awe and respect. Pardon is asked for. In certain cantons of Switzerland a cross is engraved on the tree previous to the laying of the wood-cutter's axe (III, 89).

Trees similar to that of Indra are known in East and West, especially in Germanic countries including England. Nowhere are those trees associated with rain. The most universal feature is that of the sun and fertility spirits. Like its cognates in other countries the "Indra banner" represents the spirit of vegetation. It is phallic (III, 134, 154, 163-166, 186-190). Meyer is strong on the point that Indra is not originally a rain and thunder god in the *Ṛg-Veda* but a fertility god. Indra's rôle as rain-god appeared in subsequent developments.

One of the longest chapters in this work is the one on Indra as phallic god, the god of vegetation and fertility. Some forty pages are given over to the words, phrases and *ṛks* of the *Ṛg-Veda* to illustrate the phallic elements in the Indra complex. The following equations are established: (1) Indra

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= male organ, (2) *soma* = *kāmasalila*, (3) pressing of *soma* juice = sex-act (III, 180, 187-188). Some of the references are as follows: *Ṛg-Veda:* VI, 46, 3; I. 129, 3; IX, 74, 5; II, 15, 7; IV, 30, 16; 19, 9; X, 10, 7, I, 104, 8; VIII, 40, 11; X, 162; VIII, 80 (91); I, 136, 3; X, 85, 40; X, 101, 12; X, 94, 5; 101, 3; I, 28, 3.

Incidentally, Meyer brings out that neither the Vedic poets nor the compilers of their poetry had much interest in the "folk" and "folk-elements." For instance, agriculture as a profession is very much neglected in Vedic poetry, although its importance (X, 117, 7) is not unknown. The Vedic poets are interested more in the cattle-wealth, in horses. It is not the gifts of land that they care for like the Brāhmaṇs of later times. The *milieu* of Vedic thought is not that of the entire people but of a class. It is the class of "cattle-magnates" that furnishes the inspiration of the Vedic poets. The poetry of the *Vedas* is a class-poetry, the poetry of the *Viehbarone* (cattle-barons) and their satellites. The Vedic gods are likewise class-gods. They are partial in the distribution of their favours. Just as Homer does not furnish a real picture of the folk-religion of the Greeks, so also does the *Ṛg-Veda* fail to indicate the real folk-religion of the India of those days. Vedic religion is the religion of a class, although no doubt developed out of the folk-religion (III, 189-190).

The appendix of Part III. is devoted to Varuṇa. This, the grandest and the most splendid God of the Vedas, is described as being originally a phallic god (III, 201). The association of the tortoise with Varuṇa (III, 226-230) furnishes some hints in this regard. The association of the horse (III, 236-250) with Varuṇa is another strong indication. The story of the horse *vis-à-vis* the queen in the horse-sacrifice (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIII, 4, 1, 8) establishes the phallic character of Varuṇa in an equally powerful manner. According to Meyer the horse-sacrifice is a fertility festival (III, 246).

Spiritual life is essentially the life of anxiety and fear and the life of sexual urge, says Meyer. In the depths of conduct as exhibited by primitive man are to be found these two "drives", to use an expression from the Italian sociologist, Pareto. The Bible is quoted by Meyer to indicate that man becomes enslaved for life on account of fear and that this fear of primitive man is at bottom mostly the fear from death that follows him in the manner of evil spirits or magical powers. Then there is another fear that overpowers the peasants. They are perpetually liable to the suspicion that the Earth and the other vegetation powers may fail or may not wish to

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furnish them with the desired gifts of the soil. The power that serves to remove the anxieties or fears of the primitive people is the mighty sex-urge, the "wonder of their body". In the view of the primitives every "becoming" in the growth of culture is not only similar to but identical with the sex-act of human beings. Man, therefore, has but to consecrate himself to this act in definite seasons. The powers of Nature are strengthened on account of his sex-act and contribute what he wishes from her. In primitive mentality, then, orgies and religion are very often one and the same. Through lascivious dances, wild drinking, sex-enjoyments etc. people even of higher culture-systems often believe that they rise up to divinity. So far as the wild races are concerned, orgies and intoxications, lewd merrymakings and so forth belong as a rule to all their festivals, especially to those bearing on vegetation (III, 273).

Primitive man fears that Nature may become so weak that there may not be a reawakening, that once the plants die there may not be rebirth. The powers of Nature must not die or must not become weak, the growth of plants must go on for ever,—this is the wish or prayer that is at the bottom of all sorrows regarding dying or dead gods as well as all joys bearing on their revival, reappearance and rebirth. The harvest festivals of the most diverse races of mankind embody those fears and hopes, griefs and happinesses of the human soul (I, 1-2).

There are no monistic obsessions, be it observed finally, in Meyer's interpretations. He harps naturally on agriculture and sex, and sex and agriculture from beginning to end. But he has left room for other forces and drives. Frazer's *Golden Bough* is certainly one of his favourite authors. And he has dedicated his work to the German scholar, Mannhardt, whom he describes as the pioneer. Mannhardt is the author of *Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarvölker* (The Tree Cult of the Germans and their Neighbouring Peoples). But he is careful enough to point out that the attempt to interpret all the incidents in the myths, festivals and customs according to a single formula, standpoint or origin is defective. For instance, he is prepared to see solar rites and solar magic in some of the growth and fire festivals (I, 5). In other words, even as an agricultural interpreter he is not a determinist of the Marxian school. Nor in his sexual interpretations can he be classed with the Freudians.

The different chapters of this bulky *Trilogie* have proven incidentally that one may depend exclusively on Sanskrit books in order to get an in-

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tensive and detailed idea of even the most commonplace, popular and vulgar manners, customs, rites, ceremonies, festivals, sports and merrymakings of the diverse classes of the people. Treatises in Sanskrit language appear to us therefore in a new guise. Many of them are essentially earthly, secular, materialistic and positive. There is hardly any item of folk life and worldly human interests, individual or collective, that has not been sedulously described by the Hindu authors in the "language of their gods," Sanskrit. And in this regard Sanskrit is not less profane than the spoken languages of the peoples, the so-called vernaculars. Those scholars who had been used to look upon Saṅskrit as essentially the medium of metaphysics, philosophy, religion, theology, *belles lettres* etc. would be agreeably surprised to find that from the *Ṛgveda* to the latest *Upa-Purāṇa* of the eighteenth century it is at the same time anthropology, anthropology all the way. Like the other works of Meyer's this one also will serve to establish Hindu culture in its institutions and ideals on the positive basis.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

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REVIEWS

MAGADHA ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURE by Sris Chandra Chatterjee. Published by the University of Calctta, pp. xxv + 112 and 30 plates. Calcutta, 1942.

The real value of this monograph will not be appreciated by one who will expect to find in it marshalling of facts gleaned from old texts, as the object of the author is not 'research' as we understand it but to reconstruct out of the available remnants what could possibly be the ideal of the Magadhan architects, the ideal of life and culture of the people of pre-Christian days, and the aesthetic ideal of the Magadhan artists. Enough researches have been made to collect the historical and geographical details of Gayā or Rājagṛha or Pāṭaliputra, but these do not help us to visualize the splendour of the ancient cities. Mr. Chatterji has rendered a distinct service tc Indian scholarship by conjuring up before our eyes the splendour of ancient Rājagṛha of Jarāsandha, Bimbisāra and Ajātaśattru, Pāṭaliputra of Aśoka and Chandragupta, and Nālandā of the Pālas. It may be that at times, he has been carried away by his enthusiasm but that does not lessen the merit of the book from the point of view of an artist and architect. He has gone into details about the outer ramparts of a city, its gateways, and its possible divisions into different quarters for the residence of different classes of people. Some of the findings of the author may not however be accepted by the astute researchers, in whom there is no scope for such imagination.

The underlying object of the author is to show that in India, the line of development of thought, art, and architecture has a continuous history from the time of the Indus Valley civilization up to the present day, though there have been occasional deviations through foreign influence. It cannot be denied that Indian art was temporarily influenced by Greek but only to revert to its former trend. He adds that Indian art on the other hand influenced the Eastern Asian Art to a large extent, and the monuments of China and Java still bear that testimony. He would not distinguish any period of Indian thought, art, and architecture as Vedic, Buddhist, or Brāhmanic. Throughout the long history of Indian art and architecture is perceptible, says he, the contemplative vision and study of the grace and beauty of Nature's forms. The Vedic physiolators loved Nature, and had a fancy for the forests, and this led to Buddha's message of art and peace. The evolution of Indian civilization and architectural arts was undoubtedly in-

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fluenced by Buddha, but it was ultimately modified by Brāhmanic thought and religion revived during the Gupta period. This period, he says, witnessed also the culmination of artistic and cultural development of India. In the patronage of art, the Pāla rulers were no less enthusiastic, and it was through their patronage that the Buddhist seats of learning flourished so gloriously. We wish that the author had included in his monograph the details of the construction of Stūpas and monasteries given in the Vinaya texts and the Ceylonese chronicles.

The author states that art and architecture embody devotion and sacrifice and are the principal media of worship of God and Nature. These cannot grow in commercialism and industrialism, which destroy the inner spirit of man. Indian architecture is now influenced by the Western spirit of industrialism, in which the inner spirit of India has no place. He is struggling his level best to resuscitate this inner spirit by infusing into the minds of our hopefuls the love for ancient forms of architecture, and the practicability of their application to the present-day buildings and monuments. His continual hammering on this has, in fact, roused the imagination of a cultured few, but as yet he has not been able to form a band of scholarly artists and architects to take up his mission to revive once more the spirit of India in her art and architecture. We hope this monograph will have its desired effect and will enthuse our post-war-planners to give some attention to Mr. Chatterji's scheme, which is a well thoughtout one, and deserves careful consideration.

N. Dutt

DHAMMA-SAṄGAṆI by Dr. P. V. Bapat, M.A., PH.D. and R. D. Vadekar, M.A., Fergusson College, Poona 1940, Pp. xvi + 360.

AṬṬHASĀLINĪ by Dr. P. V. Bapat, M.A., PH.D. and R. D. Vadekar, M.A., Fergusson College, Poona, 1942, pp. xl + 404.

Students of Pāli literature have reasons to be grateful to Profs. Bapat and Vadekar for the excellent edition of the recondite Abhidhamma text —the *Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi*, and its equally abstruse commentary,—the *Aṭṭhasālinī*. It is an extremely arduous task, and the editors, we may say, have well acquitted themselves of their self-imposed self-sacrificing responsibility. As early as 1885 and 1897, these two works were published by the Pāli Text Society in Roman characters. In those days, very little progress was made in researches regarding Pāli Buddhism, and hardly any clear idea was formed of the fundamental principles of Buddhism, not to speak of the psychological

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analyses embedded in the Abhidharma texts; and hence, the editions could not be brought up to the mark. Shwe Zan Aung, Maung Tin, and Mrs. Rhys Davids broke the ground of Pāli Abhidhamma Studies, while Rosenberg, Stcherbatsky, La Vallée Poussin, Rahula Sankrtyayana and Bhikkhu Govinda developed the same by their studies of the Abhidharmakośa and its Vyākhyā, which traverse almost the same field as that of the Pāli texts. The Pāli students could have made much more contribution to Abhidhamma studies if the P.T.S. edition had been more thorough containing proper indications of divisions and paras, and "peyyalas." The present editors had the advantage of having before them the results of researches for the last three or four decades, and utilised them fully in their editions. The ancient Buddhist writers were fond of numerical divisions, use of a number of synonyms to express an idea, and harping on a particular theme repeatedly. They adopted a uniform method of giving an exposition of a particular *dhamma*. The task of a student becomes much easier if he can have before his eyes the divisions well marked out typographically with spaces, bold and light letters besides correct punctuations and divisions of paragraphs. In this respect, the present edition far excels that of the P.T.S., and has really lightened the task of a student, who can now give more attention to the subject-matter.

The Aṭṭhasālinī appears more to be an independent work than a commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, and actually it does contain many valuable discourses which are not found in the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. The present editors by pointing out how far it comments on the original text and what are its new contributions have brought out the real value of the work.

There is a learned Introduction in English to both the works. In the Introduction to the Dhammasaṅgaṇi, the general scheme of classification is explained while in the Introduction to the Aṭṭhasālinī, not only the scheme of division but also the subject-matter of each division, and its style and method of comment are fully explained. About the authorship of Aṭṭhasālinī, the editors have pointed out many interesting facts, directed towards counteracting the belief that the famous Buddhaghosa was the author of the commentary. The works are priced cheap and are within the easy reach of our students, and we hope this self-sacrificing effort of the editors will have the desired effect of propagating Abhidhamma studies among the students.

N. Dutt

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PROGRESS OF GREATER INDIAN RESEARCH (1917-42) by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal. M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Greater India Society, Calcutta 1943. pp. viii + 114 + viii.

The object of the work under review is evidently to create interest among our students in the study of Indian culture in countries outside India. The author, who is also the Secretary of the Greater India Society—the only society of its kind existing in India—has admirably acquitted himself of a stupendous task viz., to present within a small compass the progress of researches made during recent years in the field of the propagation of Indian culture in Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, Java, Bali, Celebes, Sumatra, Malay and Ceylon. The list of names of countries is awe-inspiring and besides the extensiveness of the scope, one has to take into consideration the fact that the results of researches are mostly written in French, Dutch and German, which have all been laid under contribution by our author. The light focussed on any particular country though limited in scope is illuminating and does serve all its purpose of attracting attention of earnest students to this field of studies. It does really rouse the curiosity of one to know more about the subject and one feels disappointed that the author has not given more details. He has furnished us with a very interesting story as to how the several European nations took interest in the studies and vied with one another in the collection of finds. Mr. P. K. Mukherji of Santiniketan acquainted us with the Indian literature abroad whereas Dr. Ghoshal has brought before our eyes not only Indian literature, but also Indian art and sculpture abroad. The Additions Appendices and Index are very useful and we hope full advantage will be taken of the same by the future researchers in this field.

N. Dutt

JAINISM AND KARṆĀṬAKA CULTURE by S. R. Sharma, M.A., Dharwar, 1940. pp. Demy 8 vo. xix + 213.

The volume under review is first in the series started to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar. No better subject than the history of Karṇāṭaka culture in its relation to Jainism which had a very profound influence on it, could be selected for this first work. But not only the theme but its treatment also has been eminently

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suitable to the beginning of this commemorating series. The historical survey which constitutes the first section of the work attempts to assess on the basis of epigraphic and other similar materials the magnitude of influence Jainism exerted over rulers and people of Karṇāṭaka, and in this connection the author utilized data not hitherto used by other scholars. In the second section the author has made an attempt to determine the exact amount of influence Jainism had on such important aspects of the culture of Karṇāṭaka as her literature, art and architecture. In the third section, has been treated the very interesting history of the transformation of Jainism—a faith of northern origin, in its southern career in Karṇāṭaka. Students of religious history will find here that like all other human institutions everything connected with religious sects also is subject to decay or development. and Jainism has been no exception to the rule.

We have read this volume with great interest and profit. The author's presentation of facts is lucid and conclusions mostly dependable. Though it may be possible to differ with minor details it seems he has treated his subject with considerable success. We may hope that he will further enrich our knowledge of the culture of Karṇāṭaka by writing on the relation of Vaiṣṇavism and similar other religious sects with the same.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

A GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRIT LANGUAGE based mainly on Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* by Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. published by the University of Calcutta. 1943. Pp. 120.

The present work is primarily meant for the beginners of epigraphic Prakrit which sometimes vary from the Pkt. of literary records. With this end in view the author gives here the *sūtras* of Vararuci (as read by Cowell in his excellent edition) together with an English translation and notes at the end of each chapter as well as examples wherever procurable from Pāli and epigraphic records. Another feature of his notes is that in them he has given additional views of a later grammarian like Hemacandra whenever he differed from Vararuci in his description of Pkt. dialects. In his translation the author has followed Bhāmaha the commentator of Vararuci as well as Kātyāyana, the author of the *Prākṛtamañjarī* which is supposed to have been based on Vararuci's *sūtras*. Besides this in the appendix to the work the author has given *sūtras* of Puruṣottamadeva on certain features of different

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Pkt. dialects such as Śaurasenī, Māgadhī etc. not noticed by Vararuci. On various Apabhraṃśas, views of both Hemacandra and Puruṣottama have been included. All this makes the present work a very suitable handbook for those students of epigraphic Pkt. who will study the language in the traditional Indian method. Quotations of examples in this work from Pkt. inscriptions to show to what extent it varies from the Pkt. of the grammarians, will be of great interest to the scientific students of Middle Indo-Aryan. They will greatly help to clarify our views on the geographical affinity of various Pkt. dialects and may be of some assistance for the study of modern Indo-Aryan diaelcts too. The author is to be congratulated for the production of this useful work.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

OUDH AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (1785-1801), by Purnendu Basu, M.A., Ph.D., Maxwell Company. Lucknow. 1943.

The history of Oudh constitutes one of the most important chapters of Indian history in the 16th century. It became a practically autonomous state after the death of Aurangzib, and the first three Nawabs of this *subah* played a decisive part in the gradual decline of the Mughal empire. The Maratha empire-builders found a strong and crafty enemy in Shujā-ud-daulā. After the acquisition of Bengal and Bihar the East India Company began to take serious interest in Oudh. 'first as a strong buffer between its dominions and the Mahrattas,...and later as a fruitful source of income at a time when the financial position of the Company was far from comfortable.' This 'interest' proved a bane for the smiling province; administrative dislocation, economic misery, and moral degeneration culminated in the extinction of the Nawabi in the days of Dalhousie.

In recent years some competent scholars have devoted themselves to the reconstruction of the history of modern Oudh. Dr. A. L. Srivastava's *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh* and *Shuja-uddaula* cover the pre-British period. Dr. C. Collin Davies of Oxford has dealt with the early portion of the British period in his *Warren Hastings and Oudh*. The work under review picks up the thread where Dr. Davies leaves it and carries the narrative down to 1810, when practically half of Oudh was ceded to the Company by Sa'adat Ali almost at the point of the bayonet.,

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Dr. Basu has given us a thoroughly competent survey of an important period of Indian history. His chapters on "Asafuddaula and his Durbar," "Degeneration of the Army," "Bankruptcy of Oudh," "Commercial Relations between Oudh and the Company," and "General Administration" reveal his clear grasp of the internal problems which were partly due to the anomalous position of Oudh, and partly created by the Nawabs. But Dr. Basu has not forgotten to locate Oudh in the general scheme of Indian history. His chapters on "Oudh and its neighbours" and "Sa'adat Ali and Wellesley" explain the background of British policy towards Oudh: the desire of the British rulers of Bengal to utilise Oudh as a barrier against the Marathas. His work is a commendable combination of local history with general history.

Dr. Basu claims that he has made use of "all material sources, both published and unpublished." His work is primarily based on the India Office and British Museum records, but he has utilised some contemporary Persian chronicles as well. The library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal contains some Persian manuscripts which throw a flood of light on Wellesley's policy towards Oudh. We may refer to *Imādus Sa'adat* and *Madan-us-Sa'adat*. Dr. Basu does not seem to have consulted these books. They may not give us new information, but they may present the known facts from a new angle of vision. Dr. Basu's Bibliography is a mere catalogue of names; he might have added some critical notes regarding the Persian chronicles used by him.

A. C. Banerjee

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. VIII, *Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian Affairs, 1794-1799*. Edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Bombay Government Central Press, 1943.

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. IX, *Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian Affairs, 1800-1803*. Edited by Dr. Raghubir Sinh, M.A., D.Litt. Bombay Government Central Press, 1943.

All serious students of modern Indian history must remain grateful to Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai for the publication of the Poona Residency records, an invaluable mine of historical information relating to the period *c.* 1785-1828. Volumes VIII-IX published a few months ago, deal with Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian affairs, 1794-

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1803. In his illuminating *Introduction* to Vol. VIII Sir Jadunath brings out clearly the difficult problems which arose in Northern India after Mahadji Sindhia's death, and explains the reactions of events in Southern India upon the fortunes of the Marathas in Hindustan. His justification of the policy of Non-intervention pursued by Sir John Shore in the rivalry between the Marathas and the Nizam will be read with great interest. Dr. Raghubir Sinh's *Introduction* to vol. IX is exhaustive and useful. His exposition of the weaknesses of Sindhia's power provides a key to many political and diplomatic puzzles of the period. Sir Jadunath advises the reader of these two volumes to "have at his elbow the Poona despatches of Mallet, Palmer and Close (vols. II, VI and VII) if he is to understand the inner spring of many an action even as regards Hindustan." It is expected that some competent scholar will now come forward to write a complete and authentic history of the Marathas during the period of their decline on the basis of the Poona Residency Correspondence and the unpublished records preserved in the Imperial Record Department.

A. C. Banerjee

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ANDHRA COUNTRY, by Dr. K. Gopalachari, M.A., Ph.D., University of Madras, 1941. Pp. 226.

Dr. Gopalachari has made a successful attempt to present a connected history of the Āndhras and the Āndhra country from the earliest times to the advent of the Eastern Cālukyas. Chapters II-IV deal with the political history of the Sātavāhanas, and traverse a field covered long ago by eminent scholars like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, and Prof. Rapson. The author has, however, made an independent study of inscriptions and monuments *in situ*, as a result of which he has found himself compelled to challenge some accepted conclusions on the history of the Sātavāhanas. For instance, he rejects Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's theory (recently revived by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar) of the conjoint rule of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi, and shows good grounds for questioning Rapson's identification of Puḷumāvi with the son-in-law of Rudradāman. He argues that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras but began their political career in Western Deccan, and criticises Dr. Sukthankar's theory that the Bellary region was the original home of the family. He also challenges Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's view that the name Āndhra "probably came to be

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applied to the (Sātavāhana) Kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became purely an Andhra power governing the territory at the mouth of the river Krishna." In his opinion Sātavāhana rule over the Āndhra country lasted for three quarters of a century: the Sātavāhanas became a purely eastern power only a few decades before their fall. These conclusions may not be acceptable to all scholars interested in South Indian history, but the author is to be congratulated on the skill with which he has sifted the evidence and criticised the views which have so long received general recognition. His chapters dealing with the administrative system of the Sātavāhanas (Chap. V) and the social, economic, and religious conditions in the Sātavāhana Kingdom (Chap. VI) throw fresh light on an obscure but interesting subject.

In recent times Dr. D. C. Sircar made the first systematic attempt to deal with the genealogy and chronology of the minor dynasties which ruled in Eastern Deccan after the decline and fall of the Sātavāhanas. Dr. Gopalachari tells us in his Preface that his book was being written when Dr. Sircar's monograph was published. He recognises his debt to Dr. Sircar for the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy, but adds that he has modified Dr. Sircar's conclusions with the help of palaeography. Five chapters (VII-XI) are devoted to the minor dynasties: the Ikṣvākus, the rulers of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra*, the Vaingeyakas, the Kandaras and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The available data on these dynasties are so unsatisfactory that it is hardly possible for any scholar to claim finality for conclusions based on them, but we must be grateful to pioneers like Dr. Sircar and Dr. Gopalachari who venture into the hitherto untrodden field.

The book contains an excellent map of the Sātavāhana dominions and some beautifully executed plates.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of Oriental Research, vol. VI, part 2

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Poetic Beauty*. The purpose of the paper is to show that according to the prominent Sanskrit writers, art constitutes the essential elements in poetry, and that love of beauty manifests itself in every phase of Hindu civilisation.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Uḍāli's Commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa*. Citations from Uḍāli has been quoted in a work of the 13th century, he cannot be is now surmised that Uḍāli is the family designation of Varadarāja, mss. of whose commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa* are still available. As Uḍāli had been quoted in a work of the 13th century, he cannot be posterior to that date. He is, therefore, the earliest known commentator of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Brahmavidyā (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol. VII, pt. 4. (December, 1943)

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*The Sarvānukramaṇī-padyavivṛtti*. The paper contains an account of a metrical version of Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī*, elaborated at places by the unknown author of the version.

Serial Publications:

विष्णुस्मृतिविवृतिः वैजयन्ती of Nanda Paṇḍita.

Nyāyakusumāñjali—English Translation.

जीवानन्दनम् (Drama) of Ānandarāyamakhin.

Tripādvibhūtimahānārāyaṇopaniṣad—English Translation.

सटीकं होराशास्त्रम् of Varāhamihira.

आर्यशालिस्तम्बसूक्तम् of Rajanāthaḍiṇḍima.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Padārtharatnamañjūṣā of Kṛṣṇadeva*. The ms. of the work described here consists of 317 verses dealing with the Vaiśeṣika categories.

H. G. NARAHARI.—*A Rare Commentary on the Raghuvaṃśa*. This is a brief account of the *Raghuvaṃśa-ṭīkā* of Śrīnātha who explains in his commentary certain texts of the *Raghuvaṃśa* not found in its well-known editions.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. XI, pt. 1

H. N. RANDLE.—*An Indo-Aryan Language of South India. Saurāṣṭra-bhāṣā*. The language described here is known as Paṇṭūlī and is spoken

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by a large number of people engaged in the textile industry of Madras These people are said to have migrated from Lāṭa or Surāṣtra. The language which they brought, perhaps in the 5th century, from their original home seems to have come successively under the influence "of Rajasthan forms of speech, and then of Marathi, Telugu and Tamil."

T. Burrow.—*Dravidian Studies III: Two Developments of Indian K—in Dravidian.*

L. D. Burnett.—*A Note on an Early Indian Coin.* A coin discovered at Lauria Nandangarh in the district of Champaran bears a legend of Brāhmī script of about the 1st century B.C. *aya ritasa.* This Ārya (Honourable) Ṛta is conjectured to have been 'a minor king or tribal chieftain of Videha', bearing a name that probably came from a Purāṇic dynasty of Videha.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society, vol. XXIX, pt. III, (September, 1943)

P. C. Manuk.—*The Patna School of Painting (19th century).*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIX, 1943

H. D. Velankar.—*Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra.* The last four and a half chapters of Hemacandra's *Chandonuśāsana* dealing with Prākṛta metres have been critically edited with Ṭippaṇa (commentary).

P. V. Kane.—*Uddyota on Vyavahāra.* Niravadyavidyoddyota (Uddyota of spotless learning) mentioned in the *Dāyabhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana is perhaps identical with Uddyotana quoted in the *Vyavahāranirṇaya.* The respectful manner of referring to his name makes it probable that Uddyota was a great writer on Vyavahāra.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, vol. I, pt. 1 (November, 1943).

R. Shama Sastry.—*Kalpa or World-Cycle.* The conclusion reached in the paper is that 'Kalpa in its origin meant an eclipse-cycle of nearly 19 years and not a period of 1,000 divine *yugas* of 4,320,000 years, as believed by Skandasvāmin (commentator of the *Ṛgveda*) and the authors of the astronomical *Siddhāntas.*'

S. K. Belvalkar.—*A fake (?) "Bhagavadgītā" Ms.* Though a statement in the *Gītāprāśasti* of the *Mahābhārata* makes the *Bhagavadgita* a poem

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of 745 stanzas, the number of stanzas found in the current editions of the work is only 700. Pandit Kalidas Sastri of Gondal has recently published a "*Bhojapatrī*" *Gītā* 'from an old ms.' answering to the recorded description of its contents, viz. 745 stanzas. Arguments have been put forward in this paper to show that the 'old ms.' cannot be genuine.

S. N. Sen.—*Two Sanskrit Memoranda of 1787.* When Warren Hastings was being impeached in England for his alleged misdemeanours in India, many of his Indian admirers came forward with their testimonials about the good works of the ex-Governor-General. Two such testimonials issued from Benares were written in Sanskrit, one with 178 signatories belonging to the provinces of Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra, and the other signed by 112 persons belonging mainly to Bengal. These memoranda show that Sanskrit served as a sort of *lingua franca* for the Indians even in the 18th century.

M. Hirianna.—*Bhāskara's View of Error.* Bhāskara flourishing in the 9th century commented upon the *Vedāntasūtra* as an exponent of the *Bhedābhedavāda*, which holds that the relation between *Brahman* and *Jīva* or the physical world is one of 'identity in difference'. *Jīva's* bondage is caused by ignorance about his own true character. *Jīva's* error does not lie in his 'sense of relationship with adjuncts like the body and the internal organ', which is conceived by Bhāskara as actual. *Jīva* however errs by taking that relationship as 'essential (svābhāvika) while it is only adventitious (aupādhika)'. *Jīva's* perception therefore cannot be called altogether unreal. His delusion consists in his taking 'what is provisional for what is permanent'. Bhāskara admits error, but 'still maintains that it invariably points to a real object, though that object may be false when viewed from a particular standpoint.'

S. K. De.—*The Campū.* The Campū is a type of Sanskrit composition in mixed verse and prose. The peculiar character of this variety of narrative literature is discussed in the paper and the general contents of the available works of the variety are described.

B. Bhattacharya.—*The Location of Uḍḍīyāna.* Uḍḍīyāna, the traditional home of Tantric Buddhism has been identified in the paper with the village of Vajrayoginī near Sabhar (Tibetan Zāhore) in the district of Dacca in East Bengal.

S. M. Zamin Ali.—*Urdu Marsiya (from earliest time up to 1840 A.D.).*

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K. A. Nilakantha Sastri.—*Aśokan Notes.* (i) The import of a sentence in the first Minor Rock Edict containing the word *vivutha* is discussed. (ii) The belief that Aśoka was a monk and monarch at the same time is contradicted. Aśoka might have however turned monk after he had renounced the throne towards the close of his life. (iii) It is argued that the story relating to Kuṇāla and his step-mother Tiṣyarakṣitā has no historical foundation. (iv) It is pointed out that the Second Rock Edict contains a reference to religious missions sent by Aśoka to foreign lands up to Tambapaṇi (Ceylon). The story of the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon by Aśoka's son and daughter, as given in Ceylonese chronicles, should not therefore be distrusted.

S. M. Katre.—*Dharmopaniṣad in Mahābhārata.* The expression *dharmopaniṣad* contained in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata points to the application of secret knowledge (upaniṣad) for the performance of duties in time of difficulty (āpaddharma).

K. Rama Pisharoti.—*Vikramorvaśīya—A Study.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. XXII, pts. 2 & 3
(August and December, 1943)

A. C. Perumalil.—*The Apostles of Kalyana (Bombay): St. Bartholomew the Apostle and St. Pantaenus.* Bartholomew came to the Kalyana coast of India about 55 A.C. for preaching Christianity and was martyred a few years after by the order of king Ariṣṭakarman of Paithan, whose brother Pulumai had become a convert to Christianity. About the year 190 A.C. Pantaenus was sent to Kalyana where he worked for the benefit of the converted Christians and strengthened their faith in the adopted belief.

Dasaratha Sarma.—*The Imperial Pratihāras—A Revised Study.*

P. Srinivasachari.—*Tuluva Usurpation.*

P. N. Bhalla.—*The Mother of the Company.* This is an account of the life and activities of Munni Begam, the favourite consort of Nawab Mir Jafar Khan of Murshidabad.

Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, vol. IV, no. 1
(January-June, 1943)

Wilhelm Printz.—*Bhāsas Prakrit.* The original paper in German on the characteristics of the Prakrit dialects used in the dramas attributed to Bhāsa has been translated into English by P. V. Ramanujaswami.

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K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Eros and Mystico-religious Consciousness.* The South Indian Ālvars have written on divine experience through certain definite sentiments which are believed to have the power of making the relationship with God much intimate. In the galaxy of Ālvars, Tirumaṅgai was a dynamic figure of the 8th century, who recorded his erotic or feminine approach and ardent wooing in two Tamil compositions called *Maḍal*.

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Gleanings from Nīlakeśi.* The *Nīlakeśi* is a polemic treatise in Tamil written in Kāvya style in defence of Jainism against the attack of a work called *Kuṇḍalakeśi*. It criticises the tenets of other schools of thought such as the Buddhists, Ājīvakas, Sāṅkhyas, Vaiśeṣikas, Vedāntas and Lokāyatas.

P. K. GODE.—*Some new Evidence regarding the Date of Jagaddhara—between A.D. 1275 and 1450.*

K. V. NILAMEGHACHARYA.—श्रीमद्भागवद्गीतापाञ्चरात्रयोर्वैकार्थ्यं किं प्रमाणम्. The object of this paper in Sanskrit is to prove that the *Nārāyaṇīya* section is not an interpolation in the *Mahābhārata*. It agrees with the tenets and supports the authority of the Pāñcarātra system and has no inconsistency with the teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā* which is essentially in agreement with the doctrines of the Pāncarātras.

D. T. TATACHARYA.—शाबरे पाठभेदः. The reading *cakṣurādibhiḥ* found in the editions of Śabarasvāmin's gloss on the Pratyakṣa section of the *Mīmāmsāsūtra* has been corrected into *kṣudādibhiḥ* in the light of a statement made in Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* and Kamalaśīla's commentary thereon.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XII, pt. 2 (September, 1943)

N. J. SHENDE.—*The Authorship of the Rāmāyaṇa.* The predominance of the Bhṛgvaṅgiras family in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is pointed out in the paper with the suggestion that the Bhṛgvaṅgirases as champions of the cause of Brāhmaṇism have transformed the original *Bhārata* into the *Mahābhārata* and the original *Rāmāyaṇa* (Books II—VI) into the present epic of seven Books by infusing Brāhmaṇic elements.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.—*The Ramāyaṇa in the Light of Aristotle's Poetics.*

A. N. UPADHYE.—*The Soricaritta.* The Prakrit poem *Soricaritta* (Sk. *Śauricaritra*) of Śrīkaṇṭha is described.

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New Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, no. 7, (October, 1943)

SADASHIVA L. KATRE.—*Dvijarājodaya: A Forgotten Dharma Nibandha.* The *Dvijarājodaya* deals with Kāla or proper times for religious observances. Its author Dhīreśvara Miśra is identical with Dhīreśa Miśra, a teacher of Nīlakaṇṭha, the famous commentator of the *Mahābhārata*.

Prabuddha Bharata, November, 1943

JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI.—*Sanskrit Poet Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa of Ayodhyā.* Āyodhyaka Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa whose compositions are found in various works of anthology has been identified here with the author of the *Kṛṣṇakutūhala-kāvya* and the *Rasikarañjana*. A younger brother of Vallabha Ācārya, the founder of the Śuddhādvaita school of Vedānta, Rāmacandra was patronised by Vīrasiṃha of Ayodhyā in the first half of the 16th century.

AKSHAYA KUMAR BANERJEA.—*The Śiva-śakti Cult of Yogiguru Gorakṣanātha.* The whole universe with the diverse orders of individual bodies within it, is, according to Gorakṣanātha, non-different from Śakti, the innate spiritual Power of Śiva, the Absolute Spirit. The manifested forms of Śiva's dynamic nature are the result of the gradual manifestation of His infinite Śakti.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar

(May 4, 1887—January 21, 1943)

The sudden and premature death of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, which is widely deplored among friends and orientalists, removes one of the most distinguished and commanding figures from the field of oriental scholarship in India. When the melancholy incident occurred, after a sudden stroke and a few hours' illness, on the 21st January, 1943, no one could have foreseen it, for Sukthankar was still, at the age of 56, in the maturity of his powers of body and mind, and favourably situated for a long continuation of the highly congenial work to which he had devoted himself, wholeheartedly and with a vigorous competence, for the last seventeen years. The news, therefore, came as a shock to his numerous friends and admirers, not only as a grave personal bereavement but also as an irreparable loss to scholarship. Only a little over a fortnight before the incident, there was the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, in which Sukthankar took an enthusiastic part, and in which the 12th fascicule of his last great work, the completed edition of the Āraṇyakaparvan, was formally presented. The silver medal which was awarded to him on this occasion was primarily a tribute to his scholarship, but it also expressed appreciation of the unwearied care he had given, for many years, to the affairs of the Institute in various capacities. But, for the last two decades, he had made the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata the prime end of his life; and only a few hours before his death he was revising, to the last moment of his conscious life, the typescript of his lectures on the Mahābhārata, which he was to have delivered on the following day before the University of Bombay, and which would have embodied some of the mature results of his long and intensive study of the Mahābhārata problem.

A complete edition of Sukthankar's works, with a literary biography and bibliography, has been promised to us by the V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee, the first volume of which has been already printed and presented at the Anniversary Memorial Meeting held at Poona on the 21st January of this year. It is, therefore, not necessary here to go into the details of his scholarly career, nor give a survey of his many contributions to diverse branches of Indology. Born on the 4th May, 1887, Sukthankar

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received his early education at the Maratha High School and St. Xavier's College, Bombay, whence he proceeded, after his Intermediate Examination, to Cambridge, entered St. John's College and took the Mathematical Tripos. As yet he showed no special aptitude for Indological studies. Like that of Bhandarkar and Tilak, of Grassman and Grierson, of Skeat and Whitney, Mathematics was his first love; and his introduction to work as an orientalist was gradual. Perhaps his early training in this exact science, for which at no time of his life he appears to have lost his interest, was responsible for the scientific attitude and rigorous application of scientific method, as well as for the precision and accuracy of expression, which characterise all his writings. From Cambridge, Sukthankar migrated to Edinburgh and Berlin. It was at Berlin that he came under the inspiration and influence of that altmeister, Professor Heinrich Lüders, to whom the closing words of his Prolegomena bear a sincere and eloquent tribute. For the first time Sukthankar's interest in oriental studies, especially in Comparative Grammar, Archæology and Textual Criticism, appears to have been aroused, and once aroused it never flagged. Although he himself never spoke seriously of the small contribution, his doctoral dissertation, connected with a critical edition of Śākaṭāyana's Grammar (Leipzig 1921), yet reveals how thoroughly he was trained in the severest school of scholarship. On his return to India, Sukthankar joined the Department of Archæological Survey. He contributed a number of interesting papers, mostly on archæological subjects, but his most outstanding work of this period consists of an elaborate and intensive study of the Bhāsa problem in its different aspects, and an English translation of the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* (Oxford 1923). These papers display his talent, as a Sanskrit scholar, for mastery of details and sobriety of judgment, while as a translator he happily combines exactness with elegance and ease of diction. But all this was preparation for that great work to which he was now called and to which he made, through long and fruitful years, so monumental a contribution.

When in 1925 the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute invited Sukthankar to undertake the responsibilities of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, it cannot be said that the circumstances were entirely favourable. For six years since its inception, the Institute had been valiantly grappling with the elusive and complicated problem. The tentative edition of the Virāṭa-parvan which it had published was indeed a conscientious effort, but neither the constituted text nor the groping method could in any sense be

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regarded as definitive. No doubt, Sukthankar profited by the experiment and experience of Utgikar, but he had to wipe the whole thing out and begin afresh. In doing this, it became necessary to overcome long-rooted prejudice, on the one hand, and to evolve, on the other, a method and technique which, for its exactness and simplicity, would be fully appropriate and readily acceptable. The preliminaries had to be settled, a great deal of spade-work had to be done, the department had to be reorganised, the system of collation had to be carefully thought out, critical principles had to be clearly realised after a minute study of textual details, and the work had to be remodelled on a strictly scientific and solid basis. It is a tribute to Sukthankar's boundless enthusiasm and brilliant scholarship that, within two years of his taking charge, the first fascicule of the Ādi-parvan was published in 1927. Although, for various reasons, the Parvan was not completed till 1933, the first fascisule itself would show that the text-critical principles, which Sukthankar enunciated in his Prolegomena eight years later and the method and technique which he evolved for dealing with the tangled complexities of the epic text-tradition, had already taken a clear and logical shape in his mind to be consistently applied throughout. At first there were sceptics and scoffers, and the soundness of his judgment was inevitably called in question, but in a series of *Epic Studies* Sukthankar answered, in detail and with precision, some of the fundametal criticisms; and having cleared all misundetanding he was able to make them accepted by the scholarly world. It is not necessary here to go into the history of this great scholarly endeavour, nor consider the textual principles so brilliantly established; it will suffice to say that Sukthankar devoted himself to the laborious and exacting task for seventeen years with unflagging zeal and unswerving singleness of purpose, and succeeded in setting up a high standard of sound workmanship which makes the work, so far accomplished, a marvel of gigantic toil and solid learning. It is most unfortunate that he lived to see only a fraction of the work completed, but he had the satisfaction of finding that the foundations were truly and firmly laid. In spite of the magnitude and complexity of the undertaking and its manifold difficulty, which makes efficient progress necessarily slow, the able and alert guidance of Sukthankar made it possible to deal with the first six Parvans of the Mahābhārata, namely, the Ādi (Sukthankar), Sabhā (Edgerton), Āraṇyaka (Sukthankar), Virāta (Ragu Vira), Udyoga (De) and Bhīṣma (Belvalkar). All this comprises nearly one-fourth of the entire text, but in bulk

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it is four times as great as the Iliad and Odyssey put together, and about one and a half times as great as the Rāmāyaṇa; while in the difficulty of editing the text from the confusing diversity of versions and recensions, it perhaps yields to none of the great epics mentioned. The undertaking in its entirety is stupendous indeed, and in his last published work Sukthankar himself speaks of "the yet distant Utopia of a complete critical edition of the Mahābhārata;" but if today the arduous task seems no longer an impossibility, nor the Utopia an unattainable vision, it is because the task has been initiated and the way has been cleared by the intrepid skill and inspiring scholarship of Sukthankar himself.

There can be no doubt that Sukhthankar's great talents found their most congenial field in the Mahābhārata work. For more than ten years, he worked single-handed, but even when the work was divided, his task was thereby rendered no less arduous. Although he himself edited only two Parvans, his collaborators in the other Parvans, among whom the present writer had the honour of counting himself as one, are well aware that Sukthankar's work as the General Editor was never nominal. He elaborated a system of organised team-work which considerably lightened the exacting task of individual editors; but, more than that, his great enthusiasm and willingness to help, his ripe experience and alert scholarship, his strenuous application and patient devotedness were always at their disposal unreservedly. What other people attained laboriously came to him naturally as an unerring instinct, and yet he had the capacity of taking infinite pains and would not allow a single line or word to pass until he was himself fully satisfied. From the beginning to the final stage of proof-reading, his vigilant scrutiny was always there, and it went a long way towards giving the edition of each Parvan its final shape. In this connexion the words of Professor Edgerton, another colleague of his, are illuminating: "I am appalled at the thought that it will now be necessary to entrust the Mahābhārata edition to others. Few persons now living are as well gifted by nature as he was with the peculiar combination of intellectual qualities needed for this work. And literally not one has had the experience which he had, and which is second in importance only to that native ability. He had arrived at a point where so many things had become almost automatic to him, like second nature; things which even those of us who have helped in this edition cannot control as he did, though we may have painfully struggled towards an approximation of a few of them. Now, just when he could have

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exploited to the full this unique combination of knowledge and experience ज्ञानं सविज्ञानम् he is cut off in the midst of it." No attempt can yet be made to assess the permanent value of Sukthankar's work, but a generous tribute like this from a worthy colleague is indeed a high appreciation. It should only be added that, as a scholar, Sukthankar had endless energy and enthusiasm for his work, indomitable optimism and a firmness of spirit which held undeviating from the path he had chosen, triumphed over every difficulty of circumstance. His scholarly integrity was also unimpeachable. He had immense courage of conviction, but he was quick and versatile in mind and had a large fund of good sense and good humour to appreciate other points of view. He was never in a haste to publish, and never wrote in haste. He believed in facts more than in theories, in painstaking accumulation and weighing of evidence more than in sweeping generalisations; what he wrote, therefore, had always an enduring documentary value.

Above all, he was convinced of the importance of the great undertaking to which he had dedicated his life. In the closing words of his Introduction to his last work, the Āraṇyaka-parvan, this faith is breathed forth in warm, palpitating words, as an anticipation perhaps of the last farewell which he took:

> If Maharṣi Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa tells us that he has cried himself hoarse, urging people to follow the Path of Duty:
>
> ऊर्ध्ववाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति माम् ।
> धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥
>
> his shouting with uplifted arms has *not* been entirely vain. He has not failed in his mission. Across the reverberating corridors of Time, we his descendants can still hear dimly his clarion call to Duty. It is in response to that call and in a spirit of reverent homage to that sage of unfathomable wisdom—that embodied Voice of the Collective Unconscious of the Indian people—we offer this work, pledged to broadcast to mankind at this hour of its need and its peril, the luminous message of the Maharṣi:
>
> न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभाद्धर्मं त्यजेज्जीवितस्यापि हेतोः ।
> धर्मो नित्यः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये जीवो नित्यो हेतुरस्याप्यनित्यः ॥
>
> This is also Sukthankar's own message, as he realised it in his own life. We can only add that Sukthankar's appeal will not go unheeded, while his warm personality will remain as an abiding memory for all time to come.

S. K. De

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Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids

(Born 27th Sept., 1857—Died 26th June, 1942)

The cruel hand of death has snatched away from the midst of Indologists of the world Mrs. Rhys Davids and cut off the great career of a unique personality. Once a pupil of the late lamented Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, she was privileged to be his wife, life-long companion, and co-worker. As wife, she served him with great devotion. as pupil she not only glorified his name, but in some respects surpassed him, and as co-worker she not only rendered ablest assistance but did all things possible to carry on and complete the great task left unfinished by the founder President of the Pali Text Society. Such a happy union of heart, intellect, talent and soul is very rare indeed in history.

There is no wonder, then, that while she lived, she passed as a most wonderful woman in England, who had time to attend to multifarious duties of life, whether to her household, or to the neighbours, friends, scholars, printers, publishers and workers of the Society. All the letters she wrote in her own hand, without any assistant, all through her life. Besides her most intimate acquaintance with Pāli Literature and critical works on Indology in different European languages, she was a master of Psychology and a close reader of Western Philosophy and Literature, ancient, mediaeval and modern. Every work she wrote bears the stamp of her individuality and personal conviction, and went to show a perfect mastery over the language she handled. To her the world owes the introduction of the critical study of the most technical and at the same time important branch of the Pali literature called Abhidhamma. Her translation of the Dhammasaṅgaṇis under the title of *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics* was a notable performance on her part. It was the forerunner of the subsequent translations and interpretation of such Abhidhamma works, as the *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*, the *Kathāvatthu*, the *Visuddhimagga*, and the *Aṭṭhasālinī*, more or less under her guidance or at her request. Her book called *Buddhist Psychology* passes as a distinct contribution to modern literature on Psychology.

She could make time also to transcribe and edit as many as five Pali texts of the size and volume of the Vibhaṅga and the rest. But this is not all. In the midst of her onerous duty as the general editor of all the publications of the Pali Text Society she successfully translated the Thera-Therigatha in English verse called it "Psalms of the Early Buddhist Brothers and

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Sisters." These are likely to find no mean place in English literature next to Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*.

Her little book on Buddhism in the Home University Series, which she revised, will ever be read as an authoritative statement on the philosophical position of early Buddhism. At a later stage she began to see the Buddha from a new angle, and published a number of works presenting her views.

Whether posterity accepts her standpoint or not, these late publications of hers will be judged as thought-provoking and as outcome of her deep personal conviction and profound scholarship *"The Wayfarers' Words"* in three Volumes is a posthumous publication and a *magnum opus* which crowns the labours of her intellectual and thinking life. I need not mention other works which are well-known and have special merit of their own.

She lived a ripe old age of eightythree, full of ceaseless and fruitful activities till she passed away in her peaceful cottage on the Surrey Hill overlooking the Railway Station. In health of her body, mind and intellect, and in the possession of a heart, which was a well of sympathy, she was surpassed by none. She was sent down to perform a herculean task. Hers was an enviable human career, enlivened with vision and unperturbed by the vicissitudes of private and national life.

Her death is still more enviable, especially that she passed away at a time when the world was still in the grip of titanic global war which cast deep shadows over her mental horizon but could not shake her deepest faith in the ultimate victory of truth and righteousness.

May her soul rest in peace and her memory continue to inspire us all for ever.

B. M. Barua

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A Few Opinions

Prof. M. Winternitz.—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship..... It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

Prof. H. Jacobi.—I have perused your quarterly with great interest..... I may have occasion to contribute to it now and then.

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